

RIGHT ON!

Black Community News Service

15 cents



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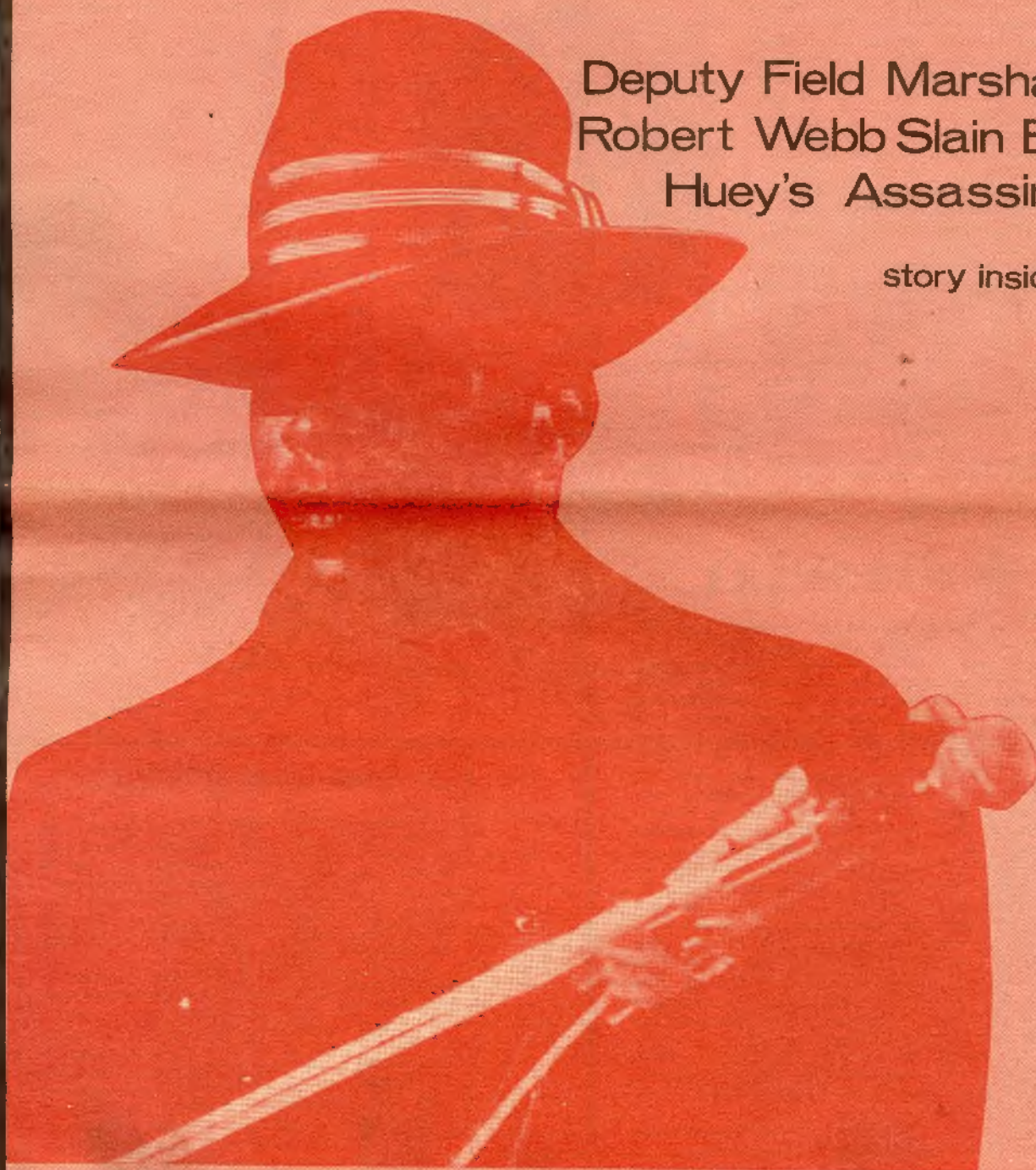
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PUBLISHED
WEEKLY

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Deputy Field Marshall Robert Webb Slain By Huey's Assassins

story inside



On the Contradictions within the Black Panther Party
Open letter from 'Bobby Hutton'
Cario United Front

A Call to Dissolve the Central Committee

The pathetic state of affairs that exist within the Black Panther Party falls absolutely at the feet of David Hilliard and the other cowardly members of the Central Committee who are aligned to him.

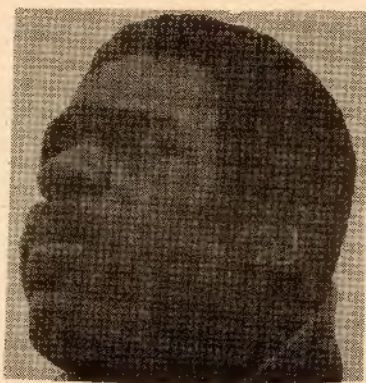
Our party is one that abides by the principles of democratic centralism. Their decisions flow from the top to the bottom and if there are any discrepancies, the redress of grievances are dealt with under the same structure, and the criticisms flow from the bottom to the top. We do not claim to be beyond mistakes, and when they do occur, particularly at the level of the Central Committee, the Panthers at the lower levels have the right to criticize the leadership for any short-comings that may exist.

There have been countless mistakes that have been made by the so-called central committee of the Black Panther Party, manifested in David and June Hilliard. While Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale were in prison and Eldridge Cleaver was forced into exile, the decisions of the Central Committee was based upon the whims of David Hilliard, supported by June Hilliard. Masai Hewitt, Emory Douglas and Elbert "Big Man" Howard only went through the motions of being functional members of the Central Committee.

Many of the mistakes made by the leadership of the Party can be directly associated with the madness of the Hilliard dynasty. For example, we can take the so-called Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, which was a total fiasco. The local leadership had informed the old central headquarters of certain moves that were very necessary. Yet the suggestions submitted to the Central Committee, specifically David Hilliard, were never moved on.

This stemmed directly from the mistrust that David Hilliard had of the local leadership and his

inability to personally see what was going on at the local level all the way from Oakland, California. As a result of this, "organizers" were sent out from Oakland, California to just about every branch and chapter of the Party throughout the country. David Hilliard himself, at one point, admitted that these brothers were "not the most politically astute brothers in the world, but they are hard workers, they love the Party and they are very loyal brothers." This is very true. But these brothers and sisters were sent throughout the country based upon their loyalty to David Hilliard.



Former Chief of Staff B.P.P. David Hilliard

These brothers and sisters were unable to properly evaluate the situation correctly. Because they were unfamiliar with the terrain and mode of the people in the various areas they were sent to, and the central committee (David Hilliard and company) definitely couldn't

evaluate the situation sitting aloof in Oakland, California.

More than a year and a half ago, our Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver had suggested a planned reform of the Central Committee that dealt with the Central Committee being made up from the leadership from the branches and chapters throughout Babylon. At that time, he had also recommended that Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton be made a member of the Central Committee, long before he was assassinated. Both of these recommendations had been approved by Huey P. Newton while he still was in prison, but this was selfishly blocked by David Hilliard. Brother Eldridge had pressed this

recommendation again after Brother Fred Hampton was assassinated, as further proof of the need to have members of the Central Committee coming from the local branches and chapters. This too, was blocked by David Hilliard and this was a cold, calculated, vicious scheme to stifle the development of the leadership of the Party on a national level. David blocked Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton from becoming a member of the central committee.

It is obvious that Huey P. Newton supports this "absolute despotism". In an ideological institute (brain-washing) class in Oakland, Huey said that a politbureau (politic bureau) would be set up that would be representative of the national leadership of the Party. Two weeks later at a "worship Huey session," Huey said that the politbureau would consist of only the most advanced and loyal brothers and sisters in the party, and that the politbureau would be above the central committee. Meaning David and Huey.

The international section of the Black Panther Party as well as the Central Headquarters in New York City call for the reform/and or dissolution of the present Central Committee as we know it, and that a new body be formed that represents the leadership from branches and chapters throughout the country. This is the only way we will be able to exercise the true principles of democratic centralism.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
DEATH TO THE REVISIONIST
Central Headquarters
Black Panther Party

"He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor" — this is the indomitable spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism."

Chairman Mao

Editorial..

It is sad and disgusting to see what the BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER has become. Once it was one of the most revolutionary papers in the world. Now it has become a filthy slander sheet, used by David Hilliard and Huey P. Newton to vent vicious unprincipled attacks against Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver, Connie and Cet Tabor and countless other revolutionary brothers and sisters throughout the world. When the BLACK PANTHER PAPER belonged to the people, it revolutionized the underground press throughout North America. Since it has been copyrighted by Huey P. Newton it has ceased to serve the interests of oppressed people. The BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER was once the life blood of the Party. Now it is a Black Capitalist Rag Sheet, used to finance the lavish tipping of Huey P. Newton (who lives in a \$850.00 a month Penthouse) and David Hilliard (who just purchased a \$65,000.00 house).

We are asking the people to STOP BUYING THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWSPAPER SERVICE copyrighted by Huey P. Newton. By doing this it is one effective way to bring the extravagant madness of Huey P. Newton and David Hilliard and the rest of the "Peralta Street Gang" to a halt.

The RIGHT ON BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE will be published at the Central Headquarters of the Black Panther Party in New York City (in the very near future).

For further information on how you can contribute in re-establishing a truly People's Newspaper, contact:

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
1370 Boston Road
Bronx, New York
Telephone 328-2828

A Statement of Solidarity

This paper is being published with the support of the Independent Caucus of SDS at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. We have read the copy and seen the tapes from Algeria. We believe that Eldridge, Cet and others in the left wing of the Black Panther Party have properly raised many important contradictions relating to correct revolutionary practice. Our tendency is to support them.

We have seen in the past that Huey P. Newton is capable of the finest revolutionary work among the people. For this reason we call upon Huey to make a clear, honest, up-front analysis of the contradictions. We feel that the people should have the broadest possible understanding of the contradictions, for at a time when the struggle has not yet matured, the people should be aware of all revolutionary programs, strategies and parties in order to wage a more effective people's war. We then call upon the people to deal with these contradictions in a revolutionary fashion.

FREE BOBBY

FREE ERICKA

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR

Independent Caucus of SDS

On the Assassination of Deputy Field Marshall Robert Webb

Within revolutionary organizations there always exist an omnipresent contradiction of great importance: The contradictions between the political machinery and the military machinery. Those brothers and sisters who would prefer the mass organizing, deal with rallies, propaganda work and fund raising, etc., and those who would like to get down all the time, when it's time and on time. In essence, within the ranks of a vanguard Party there comes into being a right wing element and a left wing element. Such is the case concerning the contradictions within the Black Panther Party.

Sometimes, these contradictions can be resolved through non-violent solutions and a marriage between the political and the military takes place. Other times, because of violence perpetrated by the right wing clique to maintain its cowardly posture, the complete communion between the rhetoricians and the activist cannot take place. Again, such is the case concerning the contradictions that exist within the Black Panther Party.

On Monday, March 8, 1971, at approximately 3:00 PM, three of our brothers were walking east on 125th Street and 7th Ave in Harlem when they encountered 2 fools (who are aligned with the Huey P. Newton and David Hilliard clique) selling the 'Black Panther Newspaper'. As one of our comrades moved closer to confiscate the reactionary rag sheet, he was struck in the back of the head with a forty five. Brandishing 45's, 9MM's and 357 magnums, several other people emerged from out of nowhere. One person, whose name we do not know, shot a round from a 45 or 357 magnum into the back of Robert Webb's head. The bullet entered the back of his head and exited through his mouth. The velocity of the bullet shattered the brothers brains. At 7:30 PM, the Central Headquarters of the Black Panther Party in New York received a call from Harlem Hospital informing us that our comrade Robert Webb was dead.

This cold blooded murder was ordered by the former Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton. On a voodoo (video) taped telephone conversation Huey P. Newton had with our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, Newton stated, 'I'd like a battle brother. We'll battle it out.' Eldridge said that's not the best way to deal with it. Huey continued, 'Well this is the way I'm going to deal with it.' Eldridge replied, 'We'll see then O.K.' Huey then stated that he thought he had the guns and that he was going to put his guns to work.

On Sunday, March 7th, we received information from informed sources that Newton and David Hilliard had

sent 75 robots who are wired-up on their madness to come to New York City to murder Panthers here. Several days before brother Robert was shot in the back of the head, many of our parents and relatives - from coast to coast - had been contacted by the F.B.I. Hoover's hogs informed our families that they had received word that 'there was going to be a murder - and they felt it their duty to inform us.' This information corresponds directly with the information we received from other sources 24 hours before brother Robert was cut down in



Robert Webb

the streets of Harlem. The six or seven mad dog assassins who took his life were the first ones to arrive.

Brother Robert Earl Webb had been sent from San Francisco, California to help organize on the east coast more than a year and a half ago. He was loved and respected by all those who had ever met him. In the middle of January, Brother Robert stopped functioning with the New Haven Chapter of the Black Panther Party because of the many questions that went unanswered. He, like many of his comrades, wonder how Huey and David could run around cleaner than the Board of Health, while the troops (rank and file Panthers) were raggyer than a bowl of yak. Or how Huey could live in an extravagant penthouse and David purchase a \$65,000.00 house while the Panthers in New Haven, Connecticut (who lived in the Party headquarters there) live in a house that didn't have any heat or running water - in below zero weather. Brother Robert left the Party headed by the Oakland, California clique because 'he had a family to feed.' He also was a get down brother.

It also should be remembered that it was our slain comrade who directed the press conference in New York City on March 1, announcing that the New York Chapter, the New Jersey Chapter and the International Section of the Black Panther Party had called for the resignation and/or dismissal of David and June Hilliard.

We hereby charge the puppet Huey P. Newton and his puppeteer, David Hilliard with murder. We have documented evidence that these two madmen gave the orders to have Brother Robert Webb killed. We now declare for the world to hear that Huey P. Newton, David Hilliard and their lackeys in Oakland, California owe the people of the world a tremendous debt - a debt that can only be paid in blood.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF OUR DEPUTY FIELD
MARSHALL ROBERT WEBB
DEATH TO THOSE WHO DON'T DESERVE TO LIVE

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On the Assassination of Comrade Robert Webb (West Coast Ministry)

Robert's life was taken from the service of the people by seven (7) cowardly counter-revolutionary revisionist lackeys, following the orders of Huey Newton and David Hilliard. This was done because he had taken a stand with the true revolutionary forces in Babylon under the leadership of Chairman Bobby Seale, Min. of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, Field Marshall, Don Cox and Communications Secretary, Kathleen Cleaver.

Robert was a brother who saw and could not relate to expounding a lot of rhetoric without backing it up with revolutionary action.

Through education and first hand experience of dealing with people in the Black community, Robert knew that the will of the people and their desire for freedom should be first and foremost in the minds of a true revolutionary, not some selfish whims - such as the ones shown by Huey, David and their Oakland circus masquerading as servants of the people. It has been proven for a revolutionary to survive and attack the oppressive system another day, he must be able to move with the people as a fish through the water. How can you bring about

armed struggle when you don't attempt to get out where the people are - while Black and all oppressed people don't have proper housing, food and the basic necessities of life, this cowardly revisionist clique of Newton and Hilliard are living in expensive, high-rise apartments, homes paid for by brothers and sisters subjecting themselves to all sorts of foul conditions to raise money for the people's struggle, money that could have been used to feed those hungry children that you claimed to love - you paid \$30.00 a day for your meals and your bad rugs ordered from Paris You say Robert is dead - but we say he still lives, he lives in all of us who loved him. At Robert's funeral there were tears - not only tears of sorrow, the tears ran because niggers were mad - killin' mad - Robert was shot from the back, cowards! I'm glad that you fools were afraid of Robert because there are so many more of us like him, who possess his revolutionary love for the people, and no matter how many you knock down - we will continue to march forward, getting stronger by the minute and serve the people. Robert's principal weapon was not his gun, but his relationship with the people. When he went out in the

community he went out as a friend, a brother - that's why the people loved and respected him.

He always talked about how proud he felt knowing that Huey was his leader - he protected Huey with his own life everytime he stood security for the man.

Robert was a warrior, strong and beautiful in every way possible, armed with the theory of revolution. I'd just like to say this to you Robert - your gun has been received and I shall go forward until I am stopped by a bullet in my brain - I will teach Lil' Masai all that you have taught me. You came a long way Robert - from New Orleans Louisiana, still a child, to Hunter's Point, San Francisco, California - fighting, stealing, gang-warring, partying, to the service - lived through it - came home and joined the Party - you were sent to New Haven, working to set me, Peggy, Lonnie, Bobby, Ericka, George, Landon and Rory free, to set the people free

King Man-Revolutionary Warrior - Your spirit lives on!

To the leaders and lackies of the revisionist camp - we will not be satisfied until your blood flows freely in the streets of Babylon!

West Coast Ministry of Information
DEATH TO THE SUPREME FOOLS,
NEWTON and HILLIARD!

TRIAL NEWS

THE TRIAL OF ERICKA HUGGINS AND BOBBY SEALE

The jury in the trial of Chairman Bobby G. Seale and sister Ericka Huggins on trumped up murder and kidnapping charges began hearing testimony on Thursday, March 18. State's Attorney, Arnold Markle, immediately called a 'surprise' witness, sister Peggy Huggins, who was one of the original 14 defendants in the case. Markle subpoenaed Peggy 40 minutes before court started as the sister was waiting in a line to get into the spectators' section. This 'surprise' pulled by Markle was a direct violation to Peggy Huggins right to counsel since this subpoena did not reserve time for Peggy to confer with her lawyer, Catherine Roraback, before taking the stand. Defense Attorneys Charles Garry and Catherine Roraback immediately objected to the 'surprise' pulled by Markle, calling it a "grand-stand play" and an attempt by Markle to

get headlines. Defense Attorneys also argued that Markle was just trying to put Peggy Huggins in jail by having her incriminate herself on the stand.

To counter that argument, Judge Harold Mulvey granted Peggy Huggins from prosecution which takes away her fifth amendment right and forces her to either testify or go to jail for contempt of court. Peggy Huggins way forces to accept similar alternatives during the trial of Lonnie McClucas: either she testify for the pigs, or remain in jail indefinitely. She testified that afternoon and all day Friday, March 19th, while Garry and Miss Roraback objected to the questions asked by Markle. Judge Mulvey overruled most of the defense objections to the large amount of hearsay evidence Markle was trying to introduce.

Still in all of Peggy's testimony, the Chairman was only mentioned once, as giving a speech at Yale University one night. She had passed a note to another Panther announcing that a small child was lost and would Chairman Bobby make an announcement to this effect.

Under direct pig intimidation, Peggy Huggins testified that sister Ericka was in the "house" while Alex Rackley was allegedly tortured, but

at no time did she say that sister Ericka Huggins participate in the alleged tortured. However, she did say she saw the pigs star pig George Sams beating Alex Rackley with a pistol, and that she "tried to stay out of his way — I felt there was something wrong with him."

Most people who have ever met George Sams thought that something was wrong with him with the exceptions of Judge Harold Mulvey District Attorney Arnold Markle and Stokely Carmichael. Sams, who has a mental history that dates back many years, is the only one who has implicated Chairman Bobby in the case. He said that Alex Rackley was murdered on orders coming from Bobby Seale. The pigs know that George Sams is a madman. Officially, he is considered "a high-grade moron". Yet these same pigs say his testimony is competent enough to railroad Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins to the electric chair.

Need we further proof to the fact that the only way we will free our political prisoners is in the manner put forth by Jonathan Jackson.

**FREE BOBBY
FREE ERICKA
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS**

SEIZE THE TIME



...Then Markle Continued: "After" between his witness
and his wife, Markle to discuss a "surprise"
witness, the defense.



Not Markle (State) The Chairman Was, Garry
Then, "Garry" "Garry" "Garry" "Garry" "Garry"



...Then Markle Continued: "After" between his witness
and his wife, Markle to discuss a "surprise"
witness, the defense.



The Trial of Ruchell Magee

On March 17, Ruchell Magee (the only surviving revolutionary brother of the August 7, 1970 shoot-out at Marin County courthouse in California) made a motion in the fascist court at Marin County that pig Judge John P. McMurray, be disqualified "for cause". Prior to Ruchell's request, McMurray had made several biased statements in reference to Ruchell's being chained to his chair in court. Ruchell had been brutalized and chained and gagged in front of this pig, McMurray, and no verbal or physical attempt was made, upon the part of McMurray, to stop these blatant violations of brother Ruchell's rights.

Upon Ruchell's request that Judge McMurray disqualify himself, McMurray called for a recess and 'consultation' session. After the recess McMurray returned to the courtroom and stated, "I refuse to act any further in this matter".

On March 18, Ruchell, who had been denied the status of *Propria Persona* (self-representation) because he allegedly: 1) didn't know the law; 2) had an I.Q. of 75; 3)

could neither read nor write; 4) struck his court appointed, racist attorney, A. Leonard Bjorklund. Brother Ruchell proved the pigs wrong in their accusations by waging a two-hour struggle in his own defense that ended with the disqualification of pig McMurray on the ground that he was biased. Ruchell then stated, "Now who's incompetent?"

On August 7th, 1970, Ruchell Magee, along with brothers Jonathan Jackson, James McClain, and William Christmas made a revolutionary move to obtain their freedom. These brothers, with guns in hand, set an example that should prevail in the minds of all poor and oppressed people in Babylon.

**FREE RUCHELL MAGEE
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS**

Paulette Frye
Central Headquarters



WE WANT FREEDOM.

Message to the 3rd World From The N.Y. Panther 21

We take this time to write to our homeys — our bloods, our brothers and sisters, our people, the Black and Third World community — because much, much misinformation has been spread throughout the enemy mass media about us lately; and we, from our prison cells, would like to clear up some of these rumors and misinformation which our enemy would like to sow to cause misconceptions about us and what we stand for!

We, the New York "21" are totally dedicated to the liberation of our people — totally dedicated to the total liberation of all oppressed people! Our only commitment is to that goal. We don't begin with ideals and work down; we begin with what is and work up — up toward the total liberation of our people! and what is, is genocide — physical murder, and legal murder — genocide! What is — is that one can speak eloquently and eloquently about this condition of genocide, racism, exploitation and oppression. But whenever Black people come together to try and unify our people to deal with these racist, negative, vulturistic, unjust conditions — the movement toward revolution — we are considered "criminal" by our enemy! All attempts to keep us exploited and oppressed in

considered "the preservation of law and order" by our enemy! When our enemy can find no real evidence of any "criminal" activity, he fabricates a "conspiracy" charge. Things have not in reality changed for Black people in this racist country since 1619 when we were first brought here in chains as slaves, let alone since 1663, when the first "conspiracy" charge was brought against us.

We of the New York "21" are not in jail for any acts, but because of our potential danger to AmeriKKKa. We are potentially dangerous because we have decided to align our behavior with our beliefs, and that does in actuality make us potentially dangerous to racist and oppressive AmeriKKKa. Therefore they had to attempt to stop us before we could really get together to begin to "conspire" — they feel that they must attempt to keep us contained at all costs — like no bail, 3 to 4 pending "indictments," prison officials promising us that we will be beaten to death, even though their star witnesses have sworn that they heard no one agree to do anything! We have decided to align our behavior with our beliefs — and that does in actuality make us potentially dangerous to racist and

oppressive — AmeriKKKa! Therefore they must attempt to stop us. But they will not, in the final analysis succeed, for we are but a small group of an ever-enlarging force developing in the Third World and even in the confines of AmeriKKKa that is saying NO MORE! to oppression. And history shows that wars against oppression are always in the final analysis, successful! And there will be a war, a true revolutionary war, a true Third World global revolutionary war! And no one — not AmeriKKKa nor us, nor anyone can stop it. But AmeriKKKa will try — that is why we are in jail. We will not compromise! We will not bend! We will not break! That is why we are in jail! We have sworn that this is the last generation of our people that will live in bondage and the first that will live in freedom! The enemy's proclamation of death is beneath our scorn! That is why we are in jail!

While sitting in prison, the "university of a revolutionary," we saw with increasing clarity the complete truth in Malcolm's statement: "It's impossible for a chicken to produce a duck egg, even though they both belong to the same family of fowl. This system cannot liberate us — this economic system, this political

system, this social system — impossible!" Therefore, we realized what had to be done, and how it must be done!

Now, Malcolm also stated: "You have all types of people who are fed up with what's going on. You have whites who are fed up, you have blacks who are fed up... So when the day comes when the whites who are really fed up... learn how to really establish the proper type of communication with those uptown who are fed up, and they get some coordinated action going, you'll get some changes."

We, the New York "21" don't claim to be the vanguard or the leadership of the revolution. We find our truths from experience, and we are still learning! But we feel that the Weather underground fit truly in a revolutionary manner with Malcolm's "whites who are really fed up," like old John Brown, and are showing it in a progressive and revolutionary manner — and that we of the New York "21" — Black men and women "who are really fed up" — that we could establish the really proper type of communication with our revolutionary comrades — the Weather underground!

The Weather underground came out lately with a change in

tactics, an announced change in tactics, a change in tactics with which we did not totally agree; therefore, we wrote to them our criticism. It was sent to a white "underground" newspaper, a media that we thought would reach them in the fastest, most expedient manner, since it serves the white radical community. We are now sending, along with this note, a copy of this open letter. In it we mention no party or group by name; nor did we intend any specific or single group. So to all the noise and fuss about it, all that we can say is, if the shoe fits wear it! Here is the Open Letter to the Weather Underground. Read it yourself. Listen to it yourself. Judge it yourself! (See EVO vol. 6, no. 13 — Feb. 23, 1971)

We invite all of you to our trial to watch how Blacks who align their behavior with their beliefs are railroaded in legal murder as part of the enemy's genocide plan. The engine begins at 10:30 a.m. and runs until 4:30 p.m. every Monday through Thursday at 160 Centre Street, 13th floor.

We will in the near future communicate with you again to more fully explain our total political position on the current situation. Until then, dare to struggle, dare to win! And don't put off another day what you can do today!

The New York "21"



M-14

The Trial of the N.Y. 21

Mar. 18, 1971

In another bizarre day of "testimony", Pt. Carl Woods, arch-boothlicker and liar continued his weird and aimless mouthings. In response to questioning by Attorney Katz, Woods vacillated, hemmed and hawed in his piggish, unique way. At several points during the questioning, the audience burst out in laughs at the answers he gave. His description of "guerrilla warfare" was more closely aligned to "hide and seek", a child's game of play. Woods, probably the least informed and knowledgeable of all the informers, exhibited the most faulty of memories.

D.A. Phillips, in one of his characteristic moves, accused the defendants of disrupting the proceedings. This was an obvious planned move, as he had publicly stated before to the news media that he expected disruptions in the courtroom. His counterpart in the comedy, "Judge Murtaugh", played his part to the hilt, harassing the attorneys, making objections for the prosecution and projecting his fascist nature.

Mar. 22, 1971

Circus (trial) continued with Carl Woods in his well-chosen role as clown. Proceedings were interrupted by the arrival of Fred Richardson in court. Richardson had been a fugitive for almost 2 years, reportedly having been in Barbados.

Richardson turned himself in and related that he had been approached to become an informer, to which his mother said, "I'd rather see him dead". No bail was set. Following the pattern set down previously, woods, on questioning from Attorney Lefcourt, constantly asked for "my notes to refresh my recollection." Most of the

Attorney Bloom started his questioning and immediately he and Murtaugh got into a hassle. Because of his insistence of some semblance of rights for his clients, clearly the ploy is to deride the defense in order to

railroad these brothers and sisters to jail. Each line of questioning posed by the defense was challenged by the prosecution and openly and unashamedly collaborated by the court.

Punctuated by numerous "I don't know" statements, woods, as is characteristic of pigs, continued to spout nonsense. Several times even the jury had to laugh at his babbling nonsense. Attorney Bloom several times contradicted Woods on statements he had previously made on direct examination. The bright role of the proceedings being the number of people in attendance, although the majority of them were white, it would be good if more blacks could be in court and see how the legal system treats blacks and poor people.

Mar. 24, 1971

Court convened at 10:30 a.m. Patrolman Carlos Ashwood resumed the stand. Attorney Bloom again cross-examined and directed a withering crossfire of questions to Ashwood.

With deliberate hesitation and sarcasm Woods responded with the studied posture of an actor rehearsing his lines. Characteristically, "Ringmaster Murtaugh" and his supporting cast (clown Phillips and clown Weinstein) entertained the courtroom audience with their antics.

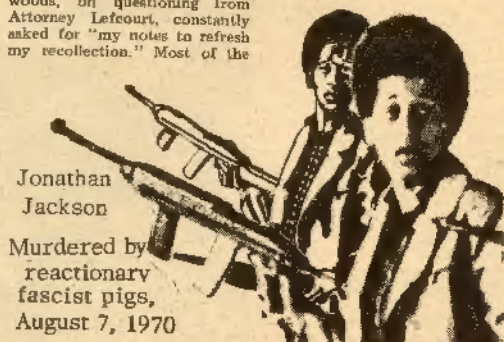
Woods repeatedly used the phrase "Brothers" in the vein of the disciple Judas who also sold himself for 30 pieces of silver. At several points Woods' "impeccable memory" came into play. Seemingly his identification of persons became very hazy, confusing numerous individuals with each other. During the brief recess, Woods may be seen in the company of his masters licking their boots to his heart's delight. Asked if he enjoyed Rosemary Byrd company as well as Clark Squire, Woods replied "as well as any other Panther".

Toward the end of the line of questioning Murtaugh repeatedly admonished Attorney Bloom for his "unprofessional" line of questioning. What is manifest and evident is that not only does the court disregard the rights of the defendants, but the constant harassment of the attorneys clearly shows the vile and obnoxious manner the court has taken to railroad the defendants. All semblance of justice and constitutional rights have been removed from the case and out and out fascism has taken over.

Mar. 25, 1971

Court was recessed due to illness of one of the jurors.

Circus re-opens Monday at 10:30 a.m. at 160 Centre Street.
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
Nat Shanks



Jonathan Jackson

Murdered by
reactionary
fascist pigs,
August 7, 1970

questioning revolved around events of Dec. 23-24, 1968 and January 2-14, 1969. At one point in the proceedings the defendants all started to applaud the defense attorneys who objected to "Justice" (?) Murtaugh constantly overruling the defense and sustaining the prosecution's objection. Attorney Lefcourt ended his questioning.

influence the jury. Questioning will resume tomorrow with Woods again on the stand.

Mar. 28, 1971

Another day of subjection to the fascist testimony of Carl Woods. This day of testimony was no different from any other as the patter unfolds. It is clear that the prosecution (in collusion with "Justice" Murtaugh) is determined to

"THE BEST EXAMPLE THAT WE HAVE OF AN ALTERNATIVE WAY OF DEALING WITH THE COURTS IS IN THE CASE OF JONATHAN JACKSON"

Free Geronimo—The Urban Guerilla

PART I

On the Jim Dunbar "AM Show," a television program in San Francisco, on February 26th, a dispute was aired between Huey P. Newton, Supreme Commander of the Black Panther Party and Eldridge Cleaver, its Minister of Information. Cleaver demanded the readmission of "Geronimo," Connie Matthews, and the expelled members of the New York 21 into the party and a public expression of apology. Newton not only refused to do so, but threatened to have Eldridge Cleaver jailed in Algeria as Timothy Leary has been. Central to the disagreement was the purge of Elmer Gerard Pratt, commonly known as "Geronimo" or "G", by Huey P. Newton and certain select members of the Central Committee. At least three members of the Central Committee known to be residing in Algeria (Eldridge Cleaver, Kathleen Cleaver and Donald Cox) and Geronimo, himself a member, were not consulted. This despite the fact that Geronimo had asked repeatedly for an audience with the party since the date of his arrest, December 8th, 1970 in Dallas, Texas.

Regrettably, a definite split has eventuated between the rank and file of the BPP and its current leadership in Oakland, California. The rank and file can no longer tolerate or condone the behavior exhibited by the present leaders of the party, Huey P. Newton and David Hilliard.

Huey P. Newton has not only arrogated to himself the new title of Supreme Commander (now diplomatically downgraded to "Supreme Servant") but he has seen fit to expel, without a hearing, one of the most dedicated leaders of the BPP and its principles, Geronimo, in his hour of need. After the fascist pigs, with the assistance of unknown local members of the Central Committee of the BPP, ferreted out Geronimo from the underground haven (to which he had been consciously commissioned by that select membership of the Central Committee) he is compelled

to resign himself to the fate which the fascist pigs have in store for him.

Because of this attack on

functions of Minister of Defense while Huey P. Newton was in the hands of the fascist pigs. These same



Geronimo in Harlem

Geronimo during a time when he is in need of support from the people it is necessary to give some background on Geronimo's work within the Black Panther Party so that you can decide if this brother is truly counter-revolutionary as claimed by Huey.

On January 17, 1969 Bunchy Carter (Deputy Minister of Defense — Southern California Chapter of Black Panther Party) was murdered at UCLA. At this time Geronimo was placed in the difficult position of taking over where Bunchy left off. Geronimo's leadership ability, self-discipline and love for the people was quickly recognized by members of the chapter. Our ability to recognize and deal with the crises arising out of the struggle in Babylon was increased greatly by Geronimo's example and his constant emphasis on each party member accepting the responsibility of revolutionary leadership.

Because of the Southern California Chapter's advances during this time, Geronimo's reputation grew in all the chapters, and he became a member of the Central Committee (CC) and took on many of the

pigs also recognized Geronimo's value to the revolutionary movement in Babylon and therefore conspired to permanently remove him from the service of the people.

On Monday, August 17, 1970, Geronimo failed to show up in court for a case and his bail was revoked. At the time he had four charges against him; a bomb case, false imprisonment, assault on a pig, and the Los Angeles 18 shootout. Geronimo went underground to avoid the clutches of the pigs because it was "time to concentrate on living to fight another day." (See August 29, 1970 issue of BP). Contrary to the recent article in the party paper purging Geronimo he was fully supported by the party at the time of his move to go underground as evidenced by the article "Reflections of Geronimo... The Essence of a Panther." in the August 29, 1970 issue of the Black Panther.

While Geronimo was underground, many changes were occurring in the Party. Huey P. Newton's thoughts became "invincible" and he adopted the title and position "Supreme Commander..." Hero

worship, idolatry, and absolute acceptance of and reliance on the unquestioned authority of Huey P. Newton were demanded of each Party member.

Geronimo was captured by the pigs in Dallas on December 8, 1970 along with Will Stafford, Wilfred Crutch Holiday, George Lloyd and Melvin Smith. The chieftains of the party did not even feel it necessary to speak to Geronimo to find out what really happened and accepted the words ("evidence") of two people who turned out to be pigs — Cotton and Gaines (Huey's boys). Melvin Smith, also known as "Cotton," was the only member of the group of four people captured in Dallas who was not purged from the Black Panther Party. He and Curtis Gaines have been determined to be, beyond all doubt, pigs themselves. In fact, "Cotton" has lived in a luxury to which he was formerly unaccustomed, namely in the domicile of one Raymond Callahan,

head of the Criminal Conspiracy Section of the Los Angeles Police Department, and is routinely escorted by his newly found friend into whatever courtroom he is summoned to "recount" Geronimo's deeds against the establishment. Curtis Gaines from the Black Panther Party chapter in Dallas, where the arrest was made, has even been recognized by the Black Panther Party itself — earlier version — as a pig agent (see recent issue of the Black Panther paper). These two forces acting in unison persuaded the chieftains of the Black Panther Party to expel Geronimo, a dedicated leader and member of the party's central committee, with no hearing. Eldridge Cleaver stated that he was not even aware of the reasons why Geronimo was purged and that it now appears apparent that his capture was a "set-up."

At this time, the leader, Huey P. Newton, has purged Geronimo, Will Stafford, Wilfred "Crutch"

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ELMER PRATT (GERONIMO)
Dep. Min. of Defense,
So. Calif.

Cairo United Front

Racist is victim of sniper attack after assault on Brother

CAIRO, Ill., March 7, 1971 — The following is an account of the incident which involved Mr. Levi Garrett and Mr. James Avery on the early morning of March 6, 1971, according to Mr. Garrett and several other eye-witnesses.

The bartender of the "Pythian Club", Mr. Joe Nelson showed and pushed the wife of Mr. Ronnie Garrett, the brother of Levi Garrett. Ronnie went to her aid and was pushed and shoved by Mr. Nelson. A Mr. Gerald Henderson went to Mr. Ronnie Garrett's help and fought with Nelson for some time. Then Levi walked up and as he did Nelson said he was being "ganged up on" and went for help. Then Mr. Jim Avery came on the scene and started a long argument with Levi Garrett.

Avery said that he was tired of these "damn" militants trying to run the town and he was there to show them it was going to stop. The argument continued and in the process Avery said he would stop Garrett and all the other "militants" if he had to kill all of them. At that point Avery removed his pistol from a holster and fired at Garrett, the shot going between his legs and hitting the floor inside the Pythian Club. As soon as Avery fired his shot Garrett and most others left the Pythian. Garrett returned to his home.

Sometime after this, apparently, Avery was shot by someone. It was not Levi Garrett however. According to newsreleases, Avery was hit in the shoulder and according to which paper or which radio station is listened to, was hit by sniper fire or from a person who fired a rifle (high-powered) at him from only six feet away. A paper says an arrest warrant has been issued on Garrett. When he is arrested bond will be

\$15,000.00 (Cash needed \$1,500.00).

Officials of the Front have tried to point out to the press that this incident is not unlike many other such incidents which happen throughout the year in taverns and clubs, both white and Black patronized. The fact that Avery was shot down places a different coloring on the story, they admit. Avery has been working recently in cooperation with the Mayor, other whites of Cairo and Leon Perry, a Governor's aide to divide the Blacks and destroy the Boycott. (Avery also was recently implicated in a \$25,000-\$75,000 deal to assassinate the Rev. Charles Koen.

In responding to published reports that Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the Front has said that as far as anyone can tell, except for Avery's story, it could have been a white man that shot him. "Since he has failed so miserably in doing what he was paid to do, the whites themselves could have shot Avery. Of course he and the press and the whites in this town would blame Levi. Of course the press would say he (Garrett) is a member of the Front. He is also a member of First Missionary Baptist Church, but they wouldn't put that down as identification. The press also did not tell the true story by declaring that Avery was illegally carrying a gun and that he was attempting to kill Levi. They only took the word of Avery and the police and did not take the time to investigate the facts which would seem necessary since they themselves had built Avery up as a leader."

According to Garrett, he will attempt to file charges of attempted murder on Avery for shooting at him inside the Pythian Club.

The beginning date of the Black people of Cairo's current struggle, was March 31, 1969, when the white vigilantes of Cairo shot into the all-Black housing project for over 2 1/2 hours. This was not the first time whites had done such violence on Blacks. It marked a new age, however, in that Black people stood up to the racists and refused to give into these actions which were meant to keep the Black man "in his place".

Shortly after the shoot-out the Black citizens began an economic boycott against their white oppressors. They said: "White Hate Must Go or Black Folks Will Keep Their Dignity". The whites did not go — they are still here and actively involved in violence against Blacks. However — neither did the Boycott stop. It is still in strong effect. As a matter of fact whites did not go — but store after store of the white merchants has had to go, and others are still going as the strength and determination of the Black people grows and grows.

Soon after the Boycott began the Black people began their organization — The United Front. They called the Rev. Charles Koen to return to Cairo, the place of his birth, childhood and youth to lead them. Since then the Front has developed a strong local organization and has helped create other Fronts in many cities and a National Organization which covers the country.

The United Front too, through adverse opposition from the Mayor, the white citizens, the Governor and the Federal Government has remained. Early in the struggle, during the summer of 1969, the Front traveled to the State Capitol with a "Resolution to Save Cairo". Pharoah Ogilvie hardened his heart, arrested over 200 Front supporters and refused to act on the Resolution. Like Ogilvie the city of Cairo and the Retail Merchants have turned down one specific proposal after another which has been drawn up by the Front as a means of ending the racial turmoil and which would help bring peace and harmony to the city of deep trouble. They, like the Governor, responded, not with love, but with more violence. Today more than 100 additional State Police are here at the request of the Mayor. The police siege of the Black community included these as well as whites, city and county law enforcement agencies. Even now Front officials have developed documents of progress to submit to responsible officials and businessmen in a comprehensive program to save the City.

The Black people have, for the most part, lived through 150 nights of shootings by whites into their neighborhoods and homes. Many have been wounded. Tragically some have lost their lives. Black people

have not returned the violence to the whites. They have defended themselves in their homes. Hundreds have been arrested in Cairo. The Front has put up over \$50,000.00 in Cash as bonds. Many Blacks have been beaten. Harassment and intimidation are a constant part of their lives. But their spirit remains high. Their awareness and understandings are deep. They, through God, have the strength and determination to resist and finally overcome their oppressors.

The Front has developed a Housing Development Corporation which has now, despite strong opposition, been funded. Eventually 100 new homes for rental by Cairo's poor and 200 to 300 homes for sale will be built. A housing factory has been in operation for about 6 months. They have cut housing costs by a full one-third.

Economic development is a reality. A clothing store; a food market; and the beginnings of a shopping center, long delayed by illegal means by the Mayor will be built. Other programs in employment and production are being developed on a cooperative basis, so that all the people can benefit. Political education on a continuing and meaningful basis helps lead the Blacks to more realistic and understandable involvement in the struggle.

In the Courts the Front has filed a dozen or more suits in Federal Courts against the oppressive agencies in Cairo. Some have been won. Others will be. Blacks serve on juries. Today it is harder for the judicial system to send a Black man in Alexander County to the penitentiary on trumped-up charges than ever before. They

supporters throughout the country. Much more is needed.

Millions of people across America are aware of the plight of Cairo's poor and Blacks because of an elaborate communication system developed by the Front and because the Rev. Koen and other leaders of the Front have traveled hundreds of thousands of miles to tell the Cairo story.



REV. CHARLES KOEN DIRECTOR OF UNITED FRONT OF CAIRO.

The most important part of the struggle is found within its religious dimensions. The Black people of Cairo relate to a higher power. Saturday rallies are accentuated by deeply moving



Pigs terrorizing the Cairo's Black community.



A local pig unprovoked, threatens and attacks a peacefully picketing member of the United Front of Cairo in downtown Cairo.

sometimes still go. We must do more work in this important area.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars of foodstuff and clothing has been distributed without cost to the poor of Soul Valley, as the Blacks have renamed Little Egypt. These came from the contribution of friends and

spiritual services. God is praised. God and the people are served. Without God the Front would perish. With God the Front moves on to greater and more meaningful achievements. With God the people of Cairo, God's children, move from Racism and Exploitation to FREEDOM, AND LIBERATION.



An Open Letter to the People From 'Bobby Hutton'

This message pertains to the recent exposure of contradictions and back-stabbings within the Black Panther Party. It is directed to the world public in general and to the Black colonies of Babalon in particular.

Following the exposure of these contradictions, there has been an all-out campaign on the part of a clique based in Oakland, California, under the guidance and dictatorship of David Hilliard, to either withhold the facts from the

the Party wasn't moving on their needs or their pleas, the New York 21 drafted a letter to the underground Weathermen. This letter to the Weathermen was labeled by Hilliard & Co. as an "insult", and the New York 21 were branded as traitors and pigs and purged from the Black Panther Party.

Now this purge, this abandonment, along with other recent abandonments, was given to the people as originating from the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party. It so

sisters, the only central committee they could possibly be on is that of the F.B.I.

Let's move to the case of Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt. He is, in the words of Michael Tabor, "a right on brother who will get down, has got down and knows how to get down in any situation." "Geronimo" was loved by everybody who ever met him on the level of revolutionary struggle, and he was respected by all. At one time Huey P. Newton even paid homage to this brother's

swiftly dispatched to the penitentiary for manslaughter, resulting from the death of an Oakland pig. In November 1968, Eldridge Cleaver was forced to change his base of operations to Algiers. Kathleen soon joined her husband there. In August 1969, Bobby Seale was indicted and extradited to Chicago for conspiracy to murder and conspiracy to kidnap. These conditions hurled David Hilliard unexpectedly to the forefront of the Black Panther Party. He became not only the number

vanguard to cadres of newspaper vendors and baby sitters. For thirty-three long months Huey Newton talked every day with political prisoners who wanted to strangle their captors and rip down the walls to liberate themselves. Huey's response to this? A "bussing program" set up to cart people to the penitentiaries on visiting days.

To be very blunt about it, Huey Newton came out of prison more like a kitten than a Panther.

So... we return now to the



people or resort to slander and infantile temper tantrums. It is only necessary to mention briefly the depths to which the (formerly) Black Panther newspaper has descended in order to distort, withhold or lie about pertinent facts. It is therefore necessary to break through the Oakland information block and shed some light on the situation.

Focus your attention on the expulsion from the Black Panther Party of the New York 21 and to that of Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt. These are by no means the only cases worthy of mention, but they are prime examples of the kinds of underhandedness and dirty work that has been led by David Hilliard (ex-Chief of Staff) and his gang of lackeys in Oakland, California.

You will recall that the New York 21 was busted on bomb conspiracy charges. They have been in the world's worst jail for many months, and during this time several problems of a serious nature have sprung up which called for active moves on the part of the Black Panther Party. Some of the problems were of a highly legal, technical nature, some involved bail and some had to do with much needed contacts. Members of the New York 21 wrote letter after letter, addressed to the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party, stating their predicament and outlining what was necessary to protect their lives and their freedom. David Hilliard's clique chose not only to ignore those letters but kept them secret from other key members in the Party. Because

happens, however, that Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, his wife Kathleen and Don Cox D.C.) are and have long been (since the early beginnings of the Black Panther Party) active members of the Central Committee. Yet none of these committee members were informed about the purges and expulsions, nor were they consulted. They made the shocking discoveries only after reading about them in the (formerly) Black Panther newspaper. This is a situation in which high-ranking, faithful members of the Party were kept in the dark about matters that were of the most vital importance and concern to them, a situation in which two or three individuals took it upon themselves to act as the whole central committee, a situation in which the lowest of deeds was committed against revolutionaries of the highest order — brothers and sisters who, more than once, were tried and found true.

The question to ask at this point is just who, then, is the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party? If we judge from the recent expulsions and purges not only of individuals but also of entire Party branches, then we must conclude that the Central Committee is David Hilliard, Huey P. Newton and June Hilliard, supported by such reactionary lackeys as Masai Hewit, "Big Man", Doug Miranda and Emory Douglas.

Well... there's only one thing to say about that. Given the counter-revolutionary manner in which that Oakland-based clique have dealt

dedication by saying, "If anything ever happens to me, then 'Geronimo' is to take my position of leadership in the Black Panther Party."

The Los Angeles pig department will also vouch for "Geronimo's" revolutionary spirit for he, along with several other righteous warriors, held off a pig attack for five hours — shot for shot — and walked away alive. Following this armed struggle with the Los Angeles military, "Geronimo" was indicted for attempted murder. This forced him underground and as soon as he went into hiding he discovered that he was suddenly abandoned by that Oakland gang on Peralta Street. Without the much needed help during this period of urgent desperation, Elmer Pratt was captured in Texas. Soon afterwards, every revolutionary in Babalon was shocked to read that "Geronimo" had been labeled traitor by David Hilliard & Co., and as a final fiendish act he was purged from the Black Panther Party for life!

This kind of thing violates every revolutionary principle. We can't have it and we won't. Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt is a revolutionary in the truest sense. He devoted his life, put his life on the line, because he believed in the Party, had faith in the people and believed in what he was doing. In return he was seized by the pig Texas Rangers, a direct result of betrayal by David Hilliard and his clique in Oakland, California.

And to what can all of this be traced?

In October 1968, Huey P. Newton was tried, convicted and

one spokesman for the Party, but also the sole adviser to Huey P. Newton and attorney Charles R. Garry, and it was David Hilliard alone who determined Party strategy and policy.

Like a man craved with hunger for recognition, David Hilliard seized the opportunity to latch onto this newfound power and authority. He wielded this power and authority like a hatchet, taking the head of any comrad who questioned or criticized his actions. Slowly but relentlessly he leaped on every opportunity to centralize all power in the grip of his neatly manicured and expensively ringed fingers.

During this same period, the Black Panther Party was enjoying glorious days, and more and more the people granted that it was indeed the vanguard of the revolution in America. This stemmed largely from the tremendous efforts put forth by the countless thousands of people to "Free Huey". For thirty-three months Huey sat in a prison cell as the Black Panther Party grew from a local cadre to a national organization. And throughout all of this, David Hilliard's mouth whispered distortions and mis-information into the ear of Huey P. Newton.

When Huey was released from prison in August 1970, there was only one person who really knew what was going on in the Black Panther Party: David Hilliard. He told Huey only what he wanted him to know, and Huey's direction was established by the point of David's finger.

Since August 1970, the Black Panther Party has progressively swerved from the position of

case of the New York 21 and to the case of Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt. We add to those cases the recent slur tactics (as Kathleen Cleaver describes them) to which the (formerly) Black Panther newspaper has degenerated; we add the record of the many members who have resigned in droves from the Party; we recall and add the purges and expulsions of not only individual members but of entire branches of the Party as well. And we add to the top of it all the expulsion from the Party of the entire International Section in Algiers.

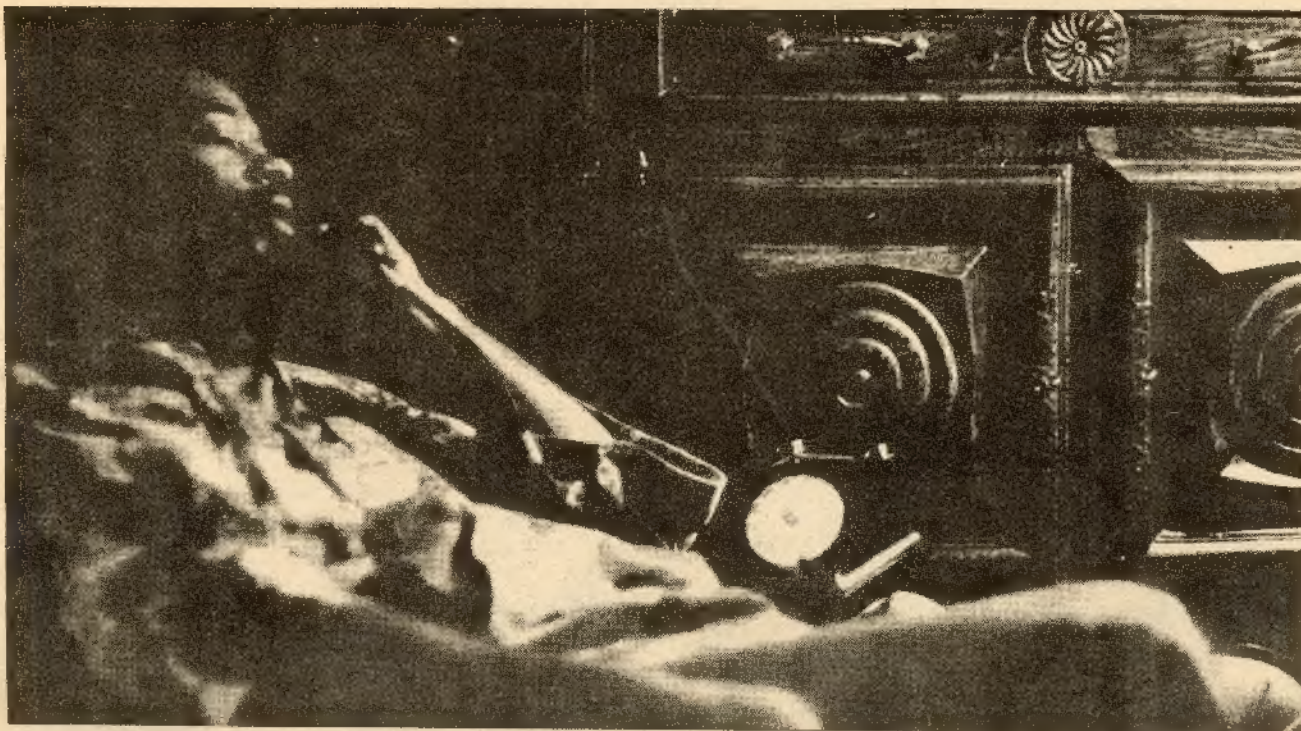
As for the so-called "expulsion" of the International Section (which are nothing but a lot of hot air, signifying nothing) we note that it came in the wake of Eldridge Cleaver's criticism of the counter-revolutionary acts that were taking place, and it only serves further to demonstrate the extent to which that Oakland clique will go to silence criticism.

But the simple fact is that neither the Black Panther Party nor any person who is part of it is above or beyond criticism. And, despite our lack of present access to the news media, those of us who constitute the extreme left wing of the Black Panther Party will continue to criticize whenever criticism is needed to expose counter-revolutionary acts.

With all of our love to the revolutionary peoples of the world,

to all of the oppressed people of Babalon, to all of the black people in the black colonies in Babalon...

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



ON THE CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

This is our regularly scheduled political education class. We have today a very serious internal crisis within the B.P.P. and our class today will be devoted to a discussion, an analysis of this problem, setting forth certain historical elements that need to be known and need to be thoroughly analyzed in order to enable us to deal with the situation. We have information that we've received from the United States via the telephone and think that it would be better for us to start by listening to those messages. Of course members of the B.P.P., also some of our comrades who've been working in close harmony with the BPP over a period of time in various parts of the world are present — Eldridge Cleaver, Saku Odings, Pete O'Neal, Don Cox, Barbara Cox, Dave Jacobs, Ian Black, Kathleen Cleaver, Bill Perry, Lily, Charlotte O'Neal, Larry Mack.

I just want to comment on the present situation that exists inside the Black Panther Party, specifically in reference to the purge of brother Geronimo and the expulsion of the N.Y. 21. Our position over here, and

we have three members of the Central Committee of the BPP over here, is that this action is regrettable, it should not have taken place, it took place without proper consultation with the other members of the Central Committee and we lay the responsibility at the feet of David Hilliard and we demand that David Hilliard be dismissed or resign from the position of Chief of Staff of the BPP so that we can go about the work of pulling the Party back together again, because it looks to us as though the results of the actions by David Hilliard over a long period of time, the Party has fallen apart at the seams.

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN HUEY P. NEWTON & ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

EC - Hello?

HN - Hello.

EC - Hey man.

HN - Eldridge

EC - What's happening?

HN - Well, you dropped a bombshell this morning

EC - Yeah.

HN - Don't you think so?

EC - I hope so.

HN - Well, it was very embarrassing for me.

EC - Well it had to be dealt with, man.

HN - Well I have to deal with it too because I think that it was unfair because when you bring things like that it should be brought to the Central Committee and discussed openly and not outside, you know?

EC - Well the way a lot of stuff has been going down it hasn't been done that way, man.

HN - Hello, you listening? The Intercommunal Section is expelled

EC - ... Right on, if that's what you want to do, brother. But look here, I don't think you should take such actions like that.

HN - Well, I'm taking it, brother. You dropped the bombshell all over the country now that there's a faction, well I want the faction to be put to work, because I wish I could've devastated it if it exists but I don't think it exists. As far as you're concerned, you can go to hell brother, but you're expelled, all communications will be stopped and that's the end of it.

EC - Say Huey

HN - What? I'm going to write the Koreans, the Chinese, and the Algerians and tell them to kick you out of the, our embassy.

EC - Say Huey.

HN - And to put you in jail. You're a maniac brother.

EC - Say, Huey.

HN - Like Timothy Leary, I think you're full of acid this morning.

EC - Say Huey. . .

HN - What?

EC - I think you should slow down brother, 'cause that's not going to work, you know.

HN - Well I think it will. We'll see.

EC - O.K., we'll see.

HN - And you know, I'd like a battle brother, We'll battle it out.

EC - Say Huey, that's not the best way to deal with that.

HN - Well this is the way I'm going to deal with it.

EC - Well, then I think you're a madman too brother.

HN - O.K., we'll battle like two bulls, we'll lock horns.

EC - We'll see then O.K.?

HN - But I think I have the guns.

EC - I got some guns too, brother.

HN - Alright, you put yours to work and I'll put mine to work, but I'm not a coward like you brother, cause you ran off and got Lil Bobby Hutton killed and I stayed here to face the gas, you see. But you're a coward 'cause you didn't attack me this morning, you attacked the Chief. You attacked him but you wanted to say my name, you see. So you're a coward, you're a punk, you understand.

EC - Say Huey. . .

HN - You're a punk!

EC - I think you've lost your ability to reason brother.

HN - Hey brother, you heard what I called you and that's what I feel about you now. You're a punk!

EC - I wouldn't call you that, you see. . .

Huey hung up. End of conversation

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER:

Within revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organizations involved in people's war, there has always existed the problem of maintaining the unity of the political and military leadership. Ideally, a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization involved in the people's struggle and the people's war does away with the classical and bourgeois form of organization in which the political leadership of the organization is represented by one element and the professional standing army exists to deal with the military aspect. In a people's struggle there is no distinction between the military and the political because everyone has to deal with both of these elements.

Once upon a time the Black Panther Party had no problem on that level. When the Party was a small organization, it wasn't a very well known organization, it didn't have any political prisoners around which we had to indulge in mass activity. It was just Panthers, pigs, and guns. And the leadership was a unitary leadership that had to relate to the business of the Party. The problem did not arise until Huey was arrested. It's very important to realize that when Huey was arrested, the Party no longer had on the streets a leadership focus. In the first place, when Huey was arrested Bobby Seale was in prison. He was in jail serving time for the Sacramento bust, then in Alameda County for another five gun charge that he had there. So at the time Huey was busted in October of 1967, Bobby Seale was in jail until the end of December or the beginning of January, right around then. We didn't have a very sophisticated political analysis and machinery to deal with things like that and we had to move in terms of practice. Of course, we had principles to guide us, but we were immediately aware of the problems created by the fragmentation of the leadership. We worked out communications channels between the Party and Huey. Bobby Seale got out. So, in effect, we were once again able to pull back together the focus of leadership.

And still there were always problems and criticism about some people who wanted to move in a purely military fashion, and from the cats who were more oriented to the military aspect there were criticisms of those who were too much involved in the political aspect of mass mobilization. Objectively, both are in error. Both of these are mistakes in principle. There was some attempt made to bring our practice more in harmony with our theory along that line, but still I think that those of us who paid close attention to the Party know that this has been a continuing problem.

Now the contradiction developed and developed and developed. The Party itself developed into a very bureaucratic machinery for dealing with mass demonstrations, around political prisoners, publishing newspapers, getting out leaflets, and all of that mass mobilization apparatus, rallies, the whole ability to do that. Much of the Party's resources and personnel were channeled into that. Those who were dedicated to mass mobilization tended to favor and select people out of the mass of the Party who were similarly oriented. And cats who didn't fit into that, were kind of shuttled to the side, dropped out of the Party, and all kinds of things. This contradiction presented itself as a critical situation that had to be resolved when the Panthers first started offing the courts. Because in the first place the whole contradiction arose over how to deal with the system. And the focus of our contact with the system was the court situation. And all this mass mobilization was around political prisoners, trials, court appearances, and so forth. So that the mass mobilization campaign is a symbol of one form of dealing with that.

The best example that we have of another

alternative way of dealing with it is in the case of Jonathan Jackson. And even though Jonathan Jackson was not a member of the Black Panther Party, we have no problem or contradiction in relating to the great revolutionary initiative he took. In the first place, the Black Panther Party is a vanguard organization. It is not a mass membership organization, and its job is to vanguard tactics and disseminate information so that the people will know how to move and how to move on target. The type of action that Jonathan Jackson took has everything to do with the way the Black Panther Party was moving, helping to create the right climate, helping to discredit the judiciary and turn people against it so that the gun would be picked up. Jonathan Jackson represents some of



ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
MINISTER OF INFORMATION

the fruit of the work of the Black Panther Party. So that when brothers start offing the courts, going underground, and rejecting that whole scene there is still a need for mass mobilization. But it's not correct to say that the man who has offed the courts and gone underground no longer has any politics, because that is politics, that is the supreme form of politics — war. So that we have to look at all these elements to see just what is going on.

One of the charges brought against Geronimo was that he had the audacity to ask for money from Central. It's clear that a brother living in that situation being searched for high and low by the pigs has a great need for money, and when politics is being transformed into war, and we know that this is the trend, this is the way history is moving, the way we want it to move, then the duties of the above ground apparatus becomes one of relating to and enthusiastically

supporting the underground.

One of the primary responsibilities of those above ground is to see to it that the underground has the resources that it needs to function, otherwise there is no reason for the existence of that above ground apparatus. Because the needs of our struggle are to wage the people's war, and that's a valid vanguard point of our whole apparatus, and that's what has to be related to because that's where our victory is going to come from. This doesn't mean that we don't still have any of the obligations and the need to mobilize on the above ground level around our political prisoners and so forth. We still have that need. But when people have conflicts in their own mind, when they see a contradiction, there should be no contradiction between the underground and the above ground. In successful struggles there aren't because it's one and the same organization moving. So when the divisions arise, when we relate only one-sidedly, then we have a tendency to begrudge everything on the other side, we have a tendency to be uncooperative, all kinds of little personality things come up which cause these problems and we're dealing with a situation of life and death. And people who have transformed politics into war take a very dim view of people who don't understand that and don't relate to that and patience is very short and there is no real need for too much patience or discussion.

Now this contradiction is something that developed while Huey was in jail, because before this was all united and pulled together in Huey. Now Huey comes out of prison. The contradiction is already there. You could tell that there was some faith and hope in the brothers who had gotten down that Huey would be able to deal with it, be able to resolve the contradiction. But Huey came out into the arms of this right-wing bureaucratic apparatus. The Black Panther Party has developed a left wing and a right wing. The right wing is based on the whole apparatus that relates to the mass organizing, the legal, above ground apparatus, and then the brothers who are moving, outlaws, underground, those who have gotten down — those who have transformed politics into war — constitute the left wing of the Party. So that Huey went to jail in October of 1967 and he got out in August of 1970. Now during the time that Huey was on the streets before October 1967 the Party was very small in numbers and membership and very local in structure. It had gotten to be widely known following the incident in Sacramento and so forth, and particularly when a pig, Frey, was found dead on the ground in Oakland, the Party became even more widely known. The Black Panther Party was mobilized and developed and grew from a very small nucleus into a national and international organization prior to Huey being released in August 1970.

Now this doesn't mean that he doesn't know anything about that, because he was in prison and he had certain information, but if you look at how this information came to him, through Garry and these other lawyers, and from my own experience I know that you can read all the newspapers and listen to all the visitors you want to, but you're only getting a minute portion of the information that's floating around in the environment outside. And it hurts. It limits your ability to make decisions on important problems. And you can feel it and you know it. You've got big problems in terms of keeping up on things. You can get the broad sweep of events, you can deal with that, you can still move from jail and be in harmony on that level, but in terms of those details, in terms of the daily conflicts and arguments that go down in the office, you are out of touch with that. And you can believe that whenever these conflicts came up, the information that went to

Huey didn't come from the people who were getting messed over. Huey's information came from David Hilliard and Garry and all these people. So that the information was one-sided, so that over a period of time, you can see how he wouldn't have all the information he would need to make decisions on those kinds of contradictions, those kind of conflicts.

That's very important, because Huey has signed this statement on Geronimo. But analyzing that document we see that the grievance that the underground brothers had were against David Hilliard and June Hilliard. The first demand was that they had to go. Then later on things developed and they said they were going to off David and June. So that you can see that the brothers were trying to deal with it and trying to get Huey to relate to it. But at the pace with which Huey has been moving and the lack of knowledge about the details of the situation, the fact that he has only really been out of prison a few months puts him in a position where he thinks he understands what's happening, but really doesn't. And when Huey got out the behavior of David and his crew was exemplary. They didn't go around doing the same shit that had people up tight. They were probably very beautiful brothers, very helpful, very efficient, doing whatever Huey said do, kept shit moving, so that was all right with him, that was good, and that's what he needs. And anyway, he'd want to know about whatever past grievances were coming down while he wasn't there. Because all the things he saw were fucked up. All kinds of things had to be straightened out and Huey would have a tendency to look at these complaints as just something that had to be dealt with and organized so that we could get rid of all the internal antagonisms. But the people who had these deep experiences and grievances, they weren't in a position to just forget that. But they held back. And you see that they did hold back because nothing happened during that time, and Geronimo was right there when Huey got out, they were all together, Geronimo wasn't underground then.

Another important thing is the centralization that Huey started in the Party after he got out. Before David was there on the scene and Huey was over there in prison, and David was dealing.

Now, David is still there, and Huey is right behind him, backing him. So that increases the authority that he has so that he is able to do things and it's not just automatically that Huey would be able to see the effects of the choices and the decisions and the way things are moving. He wouldn't be able to detect it and connect that with past activity. That's extremely important, because all these things are involved.

Whether or not David and June can be replaced is beyond a doubt. An organization of our type is supposed to be a self-perpetuating mechanism and it would be very shocking if someone would say that the life and death of the Black Panther Party depended upon David Hilliard remaining Chief of Staff and June Hilliard remaining Assistant Chief of Staff. And this becomes important because this was the demand by the underground brothers in the case of David and June Hilliard, that they be removed.

So that what we're faced with, brothers and sisters, is the possible destruction, self-destruction, of the Black Panther Party growing out of an inability to resolve its own internal contradictions. It's not going to stop the progress of the struggle of black people for their liberation. What it's going to do is eliminate an organization that is not able to adapt itself to new conditions of struggle.



D.C.

I never have related to the robot mentality that's able to produce by an erroneous application of Marxist-Leninism, because that shit when it is used wrong can lock a motherfucker's mind down and have him beating somebody in the head, wrong Marxism-Leninism is designed to insure discipline and democratic centralism. When you don't apply all of it, you see it's not just centralism involved, in a Marxist-Leninist organization, you're a fool to relate to it if it's just centralism, it's democratic centralism. And if you have an organizational structure or theory of organization and you just take part of it, then you're jiving with it. If you're going to apply the Marxist-Leninist theory of organization to the Black Panther Party and only practice centralism, then you're messing over the people in the Party and that's what's been wrong with some of that practice. It's been centralism and no democratic practice.

You can see why people who have successfully practiced Marxism-Leninism put emphasis on these things, that you must have internal criticism, and self-criticism, you have unity, criticism, and unity. You can't neglect that, if you neglect that, you're going to fall off into all kinds of factionalism, all kind of bullshit, and they say that, we read that, and we don't relate to it, some of us don't relate to it, but cats who relate to it always end up arguing with other cats. But through this kind of experience it just serves to expose what's wrong with the practice involved.

I think that this shows you, shows all of us very clearly that we have to first of all, it has

everything to do with political education class, we have to understand absolutely that everyone of us must understand all of the elements in the theory that we're functioning on so that when shit goes down you have the mental resources to analyze that shit right. And that's why it is necessary to study. You know that we're a Marxist-Leninist organization, they got a lot of people in the Party who just say our philosophy is Marxism-Leninism and even quote something about dialectical materialism.

The important thing is this: Marxism is the economic analysis, Leninism, and the reason they gave the man the respect of adding his name to this, is because he supplied another important element. How, the program of action. Lenin invented the form of the Party. When Marx was there he just had a big fat wanky thang, a big old First International, he had Bakunin and all those motherf--kers, that shit wasn't working man, and Bakunin was steady tearing that motherf--ker down, but Lenin studied the practice and experience of the first International, he checked out what Bakunin was doing is absolutely right and necessary, and what Marx is doing is necessary, but neither one of them was doing it right. Marx wasn't relating to the military and Bakunin wasn't relating to the Political shit. So Lenin resolved the contradiction by creating the form of a Party that could move on both levels at the same time. That's how he resolved that contradiction. He analyzed that shit, wrote it down, people started adopting that to apply to their own struggle. So the cats who have understood that and applied it right, Whew! they've moved.



David & D.C.

ON THE CONTRADICTIONS OF THE NEW YORK 21 DON COX (D.C.)

The information that we have here is that they were expelled from the Black Panther Party because of this open letter to the Weathermen underground from the Panther 21. Well we have a copy here of this statement, we have it from several sources we've read it, we've analyzed it and we see no reason, there's nothing in the article that would justify anyone being expelled. The only thing that the article reflects is the fact that the doors within the Black Panther Party are closed to criticism and self-criticism and ideological struggle. So the brothers resorted to the only method that was available to them just an open letter through another organ to present their ideas and views and there're many very correct views, many views that should be studied and analyzed by members of the Black Panther Party in particular and the masses of people in America in general.



AFENI SHAKUR

And there's nothing, there's nothing in the letter that would warrant their expulsion and we demand again that they be reinstated into the Black Panther Party and publicly apologized to. That leads us to the next problem here Michael 'Cetewayo' Tabor and Richard 'Dharuba' Moore and Connie Matthews. All of our information on that situation still has not jelled but from what we see, it is a repeat of the same thing. I think that a week before, there was this article by Connie Matthews in the paper and the next week she's an enemy of the people. Michael 'Cetewayo' Tabor, who spoke at the Constitutional Convention and Dharuba who's very well known and respected in New York, all of a sudden they're enemies of the people. People cannot make these rash judgements and go off of misinformation to do these things, there must be proper investigation, all people involved must be consulted, especially when you sign an article, 'Central Committee of the Black Panther Party'. I say again, there are three (3) members of the Central Committee here in the International Section and we had no information, we were not consulted on that decision and we don't know anything about it and we don't want nothing to do with it and we say that they should be reinstated and publicly apologized to also.



KATHLEEN CLEAVER - REPLY TO THE ARTICLE "FREE KATHLEEN"

It is a very sad thing to see the Black Panther Party newspaper, which started out as a revolutionary vanguard newspaper that revolutionized the entire underground press, being turned into a low-down, scandal sheet to vent personal grudges and jealousy and make unwarranted backstabbing, personal attacks. Here we witness the concern, the depth of the concern for advancing any type of revolutionary information at the direction of David Hilliard and his clique of reactionaries and the paper has become bogged down in petty, personal issues, like some Hollywood gossip column. The last issue of the Black Panther newspaper, with this ridiculous headline, 'Free Kathleen', is absurd and it has been taken a solid political slogan and turned it into something pathetic, and ridiculous. It just makes people want to disassociate themselves from this. It turns people off. But we're not surprised by this tactic, because it's been progressively being used because there's an inability to express the political reality involved. In the case of Connie Matthews, Cetewayo Dharuba in the case of Geronimo and most dangerously and most outrageously, now in the case of Eldridge Cleaver.

These vicious, distorted, perverse lies in the Black Panther newspaper have been presented specifically to destroy the fruits of labor that have gone into building the International Section of the Black Panther Party and to discredit the solid working relationship we have established here with revolutionary governments and liberation movements that support our struggle. But these tactics, which are devoid of all political content, not to mention revolutionary inspiration, are nothing new. Eldridge Cleaver has been subjected to very revolting insults, threats and lies, personally by Huey Newton over the telephone. These tactics just represent a weird, lost stand on the part of David Hilliard and his revisionist lackeys to maintain a position they no longer deserve and that they cannot carry out. We see these people degenerating into a concern for nothing but distortion and destruction on the part of David Hilliard and his lackeys. Whatever these revisionist dogs can't control, they put themselves in a position where the only alternative they can use is slander, sabotage and destruction.

As a result of their efforts over a long period of time, all the struggling work that has gone into making the Black Panther Party and the Black Panther Party newspaper a tool worthy of serving the people has been stifled and sabotaged, this is going to be dealt with. David Hilliard and his counter-revolutionary clique they have betrayed Geronimo, they have betrayed the Panther cadre jailed in New York, they have betrayed brothers and sisters who

have shed their blood for the freedom of Huey P. Newton and for the Black Panther Party and now they have betrayed Eldridge and they have betrayed me. And they are betraying Bobby Seale, they are betraying the Afro-American Liberation Struggle and they're betraying the American Revolution. The people are not standing for their foolishness and blindness much longer and they're going to be swept away to their proper place in history.

In our case, as in others, particularly in the case of Geronimo, David Hilliard and his counter-revolutionary crew of snakes, have played the role of aiding and abetting the pigs in their efforts to crush revolutionary people and revolutionary activity. Apparently, it is not enough for the pigs to rip Panthers off left and right and murder Panthers, these lackeys, under the direct leadership of David Hilliard, seem to feel that they must help them all that they can, I want to make it very clear to everyone, that I am fully dedicated to the goals espoused by the Black Panther Party when it stood as a vanguard force in the Afro-American Liberation Struggle and played a vanguard role in the American Revolution. I have pledged my life to the liberation of Black people in the United States and I will never back up on this commitment. But I want to make it very clear it must be understood, that the cliques of counter-revolutionaries, under the leadership of David Hilliard based in Oakland, California and the Black Panther Party are not synonymous. And when dead weight crops up we have to move on it.

The Black Panther Party is a revolutionary machinery, it developed out of the need of the liberation of Black people within the United States and it has been built by hundreds of thousands of people all over the United States. Whenever injustices, excesses and distortions of basic principles come forward it is the duty of a revolutionary to eliminate them as to eliminate any other obstacles that crop up to block the progress of the liberation struggle of Black people within the United States. I cannot face the people as part of this clique of backstabbing, backsliding snakes who are capitalizing on the suffering of Black people and Black Panther Party members for their own self-advance at the expense of the innocent victims of their misguided blunders. I will not contribute to this farce, but I must make every effort I possibly can to stop it from continuing and destroying people's lives and people's liberty. Now this is the real reason why I am not at this rally at the Oakland Auditorium, which we over here were not informed about until we read about it in the Black Panther newspaper, as we are not informed about so many other things that happened in the Black Panther Party. I feel that if communications had been kept faithfully, honestly and openly many severe mistakes of judgement and betrayals of principles could have been avoided and many problems could have been prevented. But it has become very clear to us, over a long period of time (approximately 20 months) that this block on communications is only part of the overall calculations of David Hilliard and his counter-revolutionary clique to distort and corrupt the basic principles underlying the Black Panther Party and to transform the Black Panther Party from a revolutionary vanguard organization to a ridiculous showcase of cowards and containment.

While these latest cases of slander, purge, these attacks on hard working revolutionary comrades, who are facing serious penalties for the contributions they've made to building the Black Panther Party and advancing the revolutionary struggle of Afro-American people within the United States, have received widespread, negative publicity. There have been hundreds of other less dramatic, similar cases where the victims have not been so well known and who felt that they had no recourse after a long train of abusive, reactionary moves on the part of this clique, calling itself the Central Committee hundreds of beautiful brothers and sisters who had dedicated their lives dedicated their talents their hearts, everything they had to the struggle for Black people for their liberation in the U.S. have been forced out of the Party and prevented from joining with their comrades in fighting U.S. racism. Comrades in jail have been fronted off, shamed on. Brothers in exile, brothers underground have been practically ignored. This destructive trend must be stopped, it will be stopped. The Party will be strengthened again and will be able to march forward again with

true revolutionary dedication and go about the business of destroying the enemy and strengthening the people. We are confident that the process of renewal will enable all the people that have been turned off, turned away, turned around, to take on new hope and new courage and to come forward and take their rightful place as revolutionary vanguard soldiers and proceed with the duties of our revolutionary war in America, without the blocking of the counter-revolutionary dogs that will apparently stop at nothing to put themselves out front, regardless of the views of the people and the needs of the struggle and we will not tolerate this any longer and we're moving to advance our struggle and advance our Party to a higher level and it's Right On.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Kathleen Cleaver
Communications Secretary
International Section, Algiers Algeria
Black Panther Party



MICHAEL CETEWAYO TABOR ON THE CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

What I specifically want to deal with here is the internal contradictions that exist within the ranks of the Black Panther Party and several other things. I think it's best to begin with the time I was first released from jail after the 21 bust. I came out around the latter part of July, early August 1970. This was approximately a week before the release of the then Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton. It was also around the time of the Planning Session of the forthcoming Constitutional Convention. The Planning Session was held in Washington, D.C. After that the former Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, David Hillard, informed me to come to the West Coast to meet Huey P. Newton and to receive instructions as to how to move on the situation in N.Y. My initial impression of Huey was a good one, it was right on. However, it was soon revealed that the brother was bewildered and baffled as a result of stepping out of the penitentiary after over 2½ years, and finding himself in command of a nationwide organization. Whereas prior to his going to jail the Party was a small one and a local one consisting of less than 30 members. One of the grave mistakes and errors that was perpetrated at that time was that, upon his release, the only ear that he heard, the only ear, in fact, that he would listen to, was that of the then Chief of Staff, David Hillard, who during the period of Huey's incarceration and after Eldridge had cut out and after Bobby's arrest, had assumed full control of the Party apparatus and was also in control of determining the political policies of the Party.

David Hillard, during that period of time had perpetrated deeds that could only be called crimes. They were gross and hideous violations of all revolutionary principles. He not only and consciously set brothers up to be

arrested. He was opposed to all military activity and he moved very heavily against those brothers in the Party who were getting down brothers and who did relate, in fact, to revolutionary principles.

In time this led to what can only be called the ideological split in the Party, with the revisionists headed by David Hillard and working in close conjunction with him, his brother June Hillard and several others. On one hand, the right side that is, and on the other hand on the left hand, there were the revolutionary brothers whose allegiance was to revolutionary principles and to the ideology, the true ideology of the Party and not to any one personality. These brothers were deliberately and knowingly stifled and blocked by David Hillard from establishing any real rapport with the people and from dealing with the pigs in a righteous revolutionary fashion. In time it's understandable, that many of these brothers became, many sisters as so, became disenchanted and their morale became crushed and they began to drift away from the Party one by one. Those who attempted to deal with the situation, by using revolutionary principles of criticism and self-criticism, and attempted to enforce democratic centralism, a principle that had been abandoned by the Party since David Hillard became in control of the Party apparatus, were expelled from the Party or, not only were they expelled from the Party, but they were branded renegades and traitors to the people and a long list of other names that I wouldn't even waste time to go off into.

Huey, not long after being released from prison, began to drift off into the same bag as David. This was evidenced on a number of occasions and in many ways, there were several manifestations of this. First of all, they both showed a very cold and callous attitude towards the well-being of the troops, the cadre which is the backbone of the Black Panther Party. They refused to attend to visit Party offices and branches. This is most clearly seen in Oakland, California itself, where the National Headquarters of the Party was located, and there despite the fact that both of them lived in that area they only, on a few occasions, after Huey's release, went to the office to speak to the troops. This in itself was a violation several of us committed. We failed to criticize this properly, we failed to take a firm stand on it. We were still reacting too heavily to an image and we felt within our hearts that in a short time Huey, who we had invested so much time, energy, blood, sweat and tears towards in securing his release, which he failed to live up to, that the people had of him, not the expectations that were superman, but we just wanted him to be a righteous and truly dedicated servant of the people.

The conditions and the situation got progressively worse. We began to take notice of the fact that a considerable amount of money was being devoted toward the buying of clothes. We began to take note of the fact that \$40 and \$50 and \$60 was being spent on breakfasts. We began to take note of the fact that political prisoners, brothers and sisters, righteous, dedicated revolutionaries who had shed blood and had risk their lives in order to secure the liberation of Black people in particular and all oppressed people in general, were left languishing in penitentiaries throughout Babylon. These brothers and sisters had to, damn near, get on their knees to get \$5 for commissary, while Huey P. Newton and David Hillard just wallowed in luxury. We began to take notice of many other things. The contradictions became more blatant, more blatant and more clear especially in view of the fact that the cadres in the street, the brothers and sisters, the backbone of the Party, were virtually starving to death. Many of them were running around with no shoes on their feet. Many of them were out on street corners, day and night, selling papers, damn near naked. But because of their dedication, because of their belief in the brother, Huey P. Newton and because they believed he was right on, they didn't beef about this.

The morale situation in the Party progressively deteriorated, it went from bad to worse. This time it culminated with the fiasco of

the so-called Constitutional Convention in Washington, D.C. in November 1970. It was at that point that the masses of the people and also the cadre of the Party, felt that it was now their duty indeed their obligation, to stand up and voice their criticisms would have to be listened to and explanations would have to be given, explanations explaining why the Party had virtually abandoned all military activity, explanations dealing with why the community programs were damn near total flops. Explanations dealing with, why political prisoners were not receiving any support, explanations why Huey P. Newton and David Hillard along with June Hillard, John Seale and several others were just squandering the Party's funds on their own personal needs and saying hell with the cadre. When these criticisms were voiced, they were immediately suppressed, what resorted at that point then on the part of Huey Newton and David Hillard and that cadre, in order to maintain their power, they began pushing the line of "We must have blind obedience and unquestioning loyalty to the leadership." It was not the duty or the function of the cadre to inquire as to what the leaders of the Party were doing with the money, how they were living or what they were off into. It was made known, explicitly clear, that anyone that asked those type of questions would be dealt with severely they might even in fact, be offered.

By January of 1971, to me it became undeniably clear, that certain fundamental and basic changes had to be effectuated in the Black Panther Party, in order to restore the true image of the Party to the people, in order to become what the Party was originally intended to be, a vanguard Party, who is willing to lay down their lives to secure the liberation of the masses and also to meet the basic needs of the people. But it was also clear it would be impossible to bring about these changes, to come any longer and criticize them and to point out to them their mistakes, because by this time they had become totally unresponsive to any type of criticism. So in the Eastern part of the country we began moving on the situation in a different manner. We began to emphasize to the cadre that their allegiance should not be to one individual, but rather, to the principles of revolutionary struggle.

Another very tragic and demoralizing, in fact, humiliating occurrence went down in the form of the Party paper, which was originally, for sometime was the true political organ by which Black people were educated as to the realities of their situation in Babylon. Under the leadership and direction of David Hillard, the Party paper deteriorated into a scandal sheet. Full with redundant articles that no longer educated the people but rather only confused and turned them off. After the release of Huey P. Newton, the situation rather than moving progressively for the better, did just the opposite, it became worse. An order was handed down that the branches and chapters of the Black Panther Party would have to double the sale of the Party paper. It meant that also if a branch was one penny short on their paper bill, the next week they would receive no papers at all. The situation developed to such an extent where they began to measure the revolutionary capability and revolutionary sincerity of the cadre by way of how many papers they sold. That became the yard stick for where a brother was at. If you sold 200 papers a day, you was right on. But if you got out there and you really began trying to relate to the people and doing something more than just selling the paper then you were subject to severe criticisms, and in many cases expulsion and perhaps possibly an whipping. Brothers and sisters, the cadre were subjected to all types of abuses and humiliations. When they went out into the streets, the people would cease to relate to them as Panthers, because they just weren't relating to the people anymore. Not because they didn't want to, but because they were being conscientiously and deliberately misguiding by the leadership in the form of the Oakland cadre. The people stopped coming up to them and inquiring what was in the latest copy of the Black Panther



ON THE CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

continued from page

paper. Instead, the people came up to them and said, "How's business coming along?"

Another serious contradiction erupted over the fact that the then Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party Huey P. Newton was living in a lavish, exquisite, very expensive penthouse, overlooking Alameda County Courthouse in Oakland. People began to wonder why this man, who had been up until that point, considered modest and humble and a true servant of the people, suddenly was going off into all these ego trips, spending huge sums of money on clothes, living in a penthouse. They began to wonder about that. And their wonder and criticisms were justified. The troops and the cadre found themselves in a very perplexing situation. They on one hand felt they had to defend the then Minister of Defense, but at the same time they felt quite hypocritical. The situation again, went from bad to worse. Finally, after making an analysis of the overall political situation in the Party and digging what was going down and weighing it on the basis of social practice, we dug the only brother in the Party, in a leadership position, in a very high leadership position, who we could relate to, who was providing proper political direction was the Minister of Information, brother Eldridge Cleaver, and along with him, the Field Marshal, D.C., (Donald Cox) Kathleen Cleaver and the other brothers and sisters. However, Huey Newton dug where that was at, so what he did was put a block on all communications with brothers and sisters in the Intercommunal Section. You were not allowed to contact them and anyone who did contact them was subject to expulsion.

That also made it even clearer in our minds that what was going down was not a series of unconscious or non-deliberate mistakes. But rather, they were a very planned and very calculated attempt to use the Party not to serve the people, but to advance the personal economic needs and wants and desires of Huey Newton, David Hilliard and that clique. So that in itself proves that these political mistakes that were being perpetrated were not accidental, they were not the result of individuals being sincere and dedicated, but making mistakes, but rather they reflected a conscious and deliberate

plan on the part of the Oakland clique, headed by Huey Newton and David Hilliard to use the Party, not as a vehicle to serve the true interest and the needs of the people, but rather to advance their own economic wants and desires. This was a devastating blow to myself, and other dedicated brothers and sisters within the Party, but it didn't stop at this, it went even further because in the wake of all this we had to hear about the expulsion of a brother we not only respected and admired and had total faith in, but a brother who had proven himself time and time again as being a true servant of the people, and a brother who was a get down brother who was qualified to get down, brother Geronimo. I don't remember the date, but I remember the response and reaction of the brothers and sisters, not only in the Party, but in the street when they picked up that edition of the paper that had in it the purge, the expulsion from the Party of brother Geronimo and his branding as being a pig. This is like the straw that broke the camel's back, and that was the spark that set off the prairie fire. It would not be tolerated any longer.

We started getting together on the East Coast to righteously move on the situation and it blew our minds to find out that our views were not confined to a few brothers and sisters in the Party, but also to brothers and sisters in the Party who had been keeping quiet, who had been intimidated and afraid, they too began to voice their discontent. They too began to come out and say that they were tired of this shit.

It started with brothers and sisters just relating to two tunes that were current in the hit parade, "Who's Gonna Take the Weight" by Kool and the Gang and "Somebody's Watching You". Brothers and sisters made it known that way, that they were tired of this shit.

Now behind that, word began coming in from on the other side of the ocean that they over there Eldridge and Kathleen Sekou, Larry Mack, D.C. and all those righteous brothers and sisters in Algeria you know, like they were hip to what was going on. They were deliberately shut off from the situation and couldn't really move on it. So finally Huey Newton and David Hilliard came to the coast on one of the speaking tours, which they intended to get thou-

sands of dollars from. Each speaking engagement was done at a minimum of \$2000 apiece and none of that money was going to any of the local branches and chapters, the troops were starving to death.

We decided that we had to move on the situation then. We draw a plan that when we took our stand, our principled and revolutionary stand against them, if they moved to expose us, then we would make it known to the people the hideous and corrupt deeds that they had perpetrated against the masses and how they had violated the masses' trust. It's necessary at this point, right now, for all righteous revolutionary brothers and sisters within the Black Panther Party and on the block to begin moving to expose Huey Newton, David Hilliard, June Hilliard and all of the rest of the bandits and traitors who align themselves with them. It's so important for brothers and sisters to make it known to those within the ranks of the Party who are trying to straddle the fence, who are coming out of that present opportunist bag, for them to take a principled stand, for them to come to begin relating to those principles the Party was founded upon and move on a basis and in accordance with that, rather than just relating to a personality. Democratic Centralism must be restored within the Party, criticism and self-criticism must be related to and those who are responsible for the present state of fucked up affairs within the Black Panther Party must be removed from their position immediately.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
RIGHT ON BROTHERS AND SISTERS!
WE'LL SEE YOU SOON
Micheal Cateway Tabor

All the above statements were excerpted and edited from the discussion held in our political education class on January 31 in which Eldridge made a detailed and lengthy analysis concerning the contradictions within the Black Panther Party brought out by the Purge of Geronimo and the Expulsion of the New York 21.

Revolutionary Artist or Revisionist Al Capp?

A Call For Progressive Artists

The process of re-establishing a truly Black Community News Service offers us an opportunity to unite progressive people together for the sole purpose of striking a final blow to this fascist government commonly known as Babylon.

This process that we are involved in not only entails combating the pig media or putting in the blood, sweat and tears needed to establish a People's Newspaper, but a tool to put an end to the garbage publicized by the 'Peralta Street Gang' headed by David Hillard and Huey P. Newton.

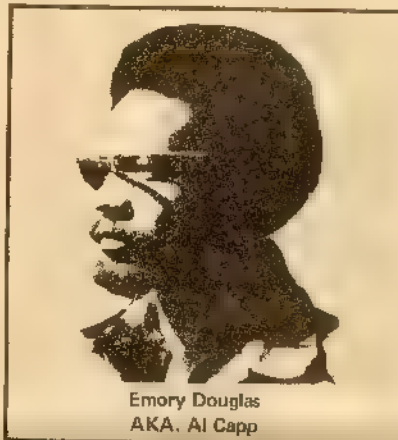
However, the monumental issue that is necessary to deal with, is a call for all progressive artists to aid us in illustrating the continuous misery and killing of Black people and offering solutions that will motivate the masses necessary to ensure, another day of life, to ensure a People's Government, the ultimacy being our national salvation.

Knowing that Black folks basically are not reading people, it has to be the job of the progressive artists to shorten the long articles, which, at times, may be included in the newspaper to a point where their pictures project ten paragraphs. It is important that this is done because for too long Black artists have busted their asses to get a piece of work into either the pig's magazines, pigs newspapers or the champion nigger bootlicking magazines. And in the end, it is just looked upon, read once and then discarded in the nearest trash can.

But it must be fully understood that this newspaper, your newspaper, the Right On Black Community News Service is something more. And your responsibility as a revolutionary artist for a revolutionary newspaper would only allow you to work unselfishly together with other comrade artist with a common goal in mind which is to serve the people and liberate Babylon. Our art should offer methods for carrying out this task. A method that will necessarily include the gun. In short, we have to draw pictures that will make people go out and kill pigs.

Most of all, we must constantly relate to the idea of politics guiding the brush, and the gun protecting them both. We have to combat any evidence of counter-revolutionary politics appearing in any of our work. Such is the case with the former Minister of Culture of the Black Panther Party, Emory Douglas, who, up until recently was in the vanguard of revolutionary artists. But now, because he allowed counter revolutionary, simple-minded,

childish-like principles to interrupt, grasp and twist his revolutionary theory on revolutionary art to a point where he now maintains an Al Capp-type mentality, he can no longer be considered to be in the vanguard, to be the revolutionary artist he once was. This development, however, does not negate any of the guidelines and principles set forth by Emory before he tripped out into the madness of the 'Peralta Street Gang'. I believe he was the best revolutionary art teacher we ever had. Now is the time to materialize those ideas. To those of you who observe our revolutionary art, study them very carefully. Every picture will be saying it's time for a change, it's time to move to a higher level. Look outside, it will say, tonight will be right if conditions are favorable.



Emory Douglas
AKA. Al Capp

INSTRUCTIONS FOR ART TO BE SUBMITTED

- 1) All art work should be no larger than 20 inches in size
- 2) Use any media (ink, chalks, paints) you please as long as it is black and white.
- 3) All art work should project social realism (i.e. human figures) instead of the pig cartoon image.

EDUCATE THROUGH REVOLUTIONARY ART

DEATH TO THE REVISIONIST

Brad Brewer
Central Headquarters
1370 Boston Road
Bronx, New York 10456
(212) 328-2828

From a Revolutionary Sister to a Revolutionary Brother

All Power To the People Brother

A love with no beginning
the warmth of friendship
the bond of comradeship
the understanding of brothers and sisters
And it blossomed and grew
but the essence did not change
you are my friend, my comrade, my brother
and a Revolutionary who has my highest respect
For a new Black woman loves a new Black man
you are not mine, for you belong to the people
I am not yours for I must serve the people
Our bodies touch and move apart
you go to another
But together we struggle and in struggle, we learn to love
and that cannot limit us
it encompasses the entire world
We struggle to be free, we struggle, we fight to love
that a I people may love
Our children will be the children of the world
fighting for our people and the people of the world
fighting for the possibilities of Humanity
and loving, as we want to love
This is the beginning of a love that cannot end
not the false love of a dying society
but a new love of new people
fighting for a new world
Wherever you are, my love
I will be with you as you fight
and wherever I am, my love
I'll carry you in my heart as I fight
Together we learn to love and we'll teach the world
SHOOT TO KILL ALL THE HATE
"At the risk of seeming ridiculous, I will say
that the true revolutionary is guided by great
feelings of love"

Paulette Frye
Central Headquarters

People's Free Health Clinic

THE JERSEY CITY CHAPTER IS IN THE PROCESS OF OPENING A PEOPLE'S FREE HEALTH CENTER. WE MUST BEGIN TO IMPLEMENT PROGRAMS THAT WILL SERVE THE PEOPLE WHOLEHEARTEDLY. WE ALL KNOW THAT MEDICAL ATTENTION IS DESPERATELY NEEDED IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY SO THEREFORE WE MUST STRIVE TO OPEN THE PEOPLE'S CLINIC AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. ANYONE WHO WOULD LIKE TO VOLUNTEER ANY SERVICE OR WOULD LIKE FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT

JERSEY CITY CHAPTER
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
93 SUMMIT AVENUE
JERSEY CITY

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

created a police state on the college premises.

3. President Michelen is not responding to the student and community needs.

We, the 12 suspended students make the following official statements:

A. We do not accept our suspension, because the charges are false and pre-fabricated.

B. We recognized that it is a dissonant tactic of the administration to create confusion amongst our own brothers and sisters and to turn one against the other, while in reality the administration is the cause of our problems.

C. We will openly continue to work towards making Hostos a bilingual college and to make the education relevant to the Third World residents of the South Bronx.

D. We will join the community in its effort to remove the no. 1 agitator President Michelen.

We, the 12 students, remain strong and firm in our position and will not be coerced into submitting to the repressive tactics imposed on us by Michelen and his corrupted pigs.
Miram Gomez, David Sierra, Nefi Yd. Luis Pelot, Hermine Irtizay, Nestor Cruz, Juan Guadalupe, Miguel Caceres, Antonio Roman, Miguel Anderson, Simon Gutierrez, Nestor Morales.

DARE TO STRUGGLE,
DARE TO WIN!



Hostos Community College

We the members of the South Bronx community worked day and night to establish a college in our community which is responsive to our children's needs.

Nevertheless we have been betrayed.

We have been betrayed by President Michelen, who was formerly the Director of Lincoln Hospital, from which the community made him resign by petition.

Since the inception of Hostos Community College, we have been betrayed because we asked for the establishment of a bilingual college and the administration totally opposed it without consulting the students or the community.

The administration has made decisions which are totally opposed to the concept of a bilingual community college.

1. Hiring 35 white professors

without consulting the students or the community.

2. The majority of these teachers are indifferent and racist do not come from our community, do not understand our problems as Puerto Ricans nor do they understand the Puerto Ricans who speak only Spanish.

3. Hiring only 6 bilingual professors whose presence at Hostos is not wanted.

4. Making little or no effort to recruit more bilingual professors.

5. Hiring only 12 Black professors although the Black student populace within Hostos College consists of 40% of the student body.

We have been betrayed because President Michelen is forcing the Puerto Ricans and Black professors to resign, and if they don't, he then pre-fabricates charges and fires them.

The Administration has placed our children in a Death-Trap, a Death-Trap because in case of fire there are no Fire Escapes, nor is there any intercom system with which to inform the College Community.

The building can accommodate 300 students yet, there are 600 students at Hostos and the Registrar's office plans on admitting another 750 students.

Not only is Hostos Community College a Death Trap, but it is also a health hazard. There are no windows in most of the classrooms or any other means of ventilation. The toilet facilities are so poor that contagious diseases can be rapidly spread among students.

Twelve students have been suspended from school on false charges.

The twelve have been accused of exposing and removing Prof. Tesoro, who, by his deeds and

actions has proven to be a racist and against the needs of our people.

MICHELEN AND HIS ADMINISTRATION HAS TO BE STOPPED NOW!
WE CAN NOT WAIT ANY LONGER!

THE EDUCATION OF OUR CHILDREN IS IN DANGER!

Come and observe for yourselves the situation at Hostos. We are located at 475 Grand Concourse and 149th Street, Bronx, NY.

POSITION ADOPTED BY THE HOSTOS 12

The president of Hostos Community College, Michelen, acted illegally in suspending 12 students from classes on false charges.

2. The President has utilized techniques tending to incite riot among the students.

3. President Michelen has

INTERNATIONAL NEWS



The Spirit of Che Rages in the Place of his Birth

For many years now, the name of Ernesto Che Guevara has been the burning spirit that flames in the hearts of revolutionaries throughout the world. In oppressed communities everywhere, revolutionaries have taken notice of Che's proclamation, 'The duty of a revolutionary is to make the revolution.' And many new hands have taken up the gun and the staccato of machine gun fire can be heard everywhere. One of the best testimonies to the fact that the spirit of Che still in the hearts of the people is the righteous examples that guerilla's in the place of Che's birth, Argentina, are waging against the U.S. empire and all the incumbent local running lackey dogs.

The guerilla's of Argentina are engaged in a day to day struggle against the reactionary forces of oppression. The guerilla organizations consist of many different groups in the same manner that the Palestine Liberation Movement is made up of several autonomous organizations.

The most popular group is the Montoneros (allegedly responsible for the kidnapping and revolutionary assassination of General Abram Buru). Pig intelligence states it is 'virtually impossible to sort them out.' Then there is the Liberation Armed Forces, the shirtless commandos, the National Revolutionary Army, the people's revolutionary armed forces and several others.

'The Urban Guerilla uses armed struggle and concentrates its activity on the physical extermination of the agents of repression and is dedicated twenty four hours a day to expropriations from the people's exploiters.' Carlos Marighel.

It seems obvious that the Argentinian guerillas have learned from the teachings of Carlos Marighella and have been tempered by the rewarding expertise of the Tupamaros in neighboring Uruguay. And bombings of military and police installations, businesses of the U.S. empire and the homes of U.S. agents, and the assassinations of soldiers and police is the order of the day.

Last December 28, a pig guard outside of the presidential residence of Buenos Aires suburb was shot dead by a guerilla disguised as a coffee vendor. Bank

robberies are carried out almost daily, as well as the sabotage of railroads, hijacking of trucks and less frequently, kidnapping for the release of political prisoners.

Women play an active part in the guerilla operations. An apparently pregnant woman waiting inside a bank produced a submachine gun then takes charge of a large bank robbery. A beautiful sister approaches a pig station



on the beach to ask for help in removing a splinter. When the pigs began examining her foot, a revolutionary brother shot one of the pigs dead, dead, dead.

Guerilla groups have successfully assassinated reactionary labor-union leaders and kidnapped and assassinated former president Pedro Eugenio Abram Buru.

The guerilla's have close relations with the masses and use 'armed propaganda' very effectively. A guerilla leader in the provincial capital of Tucuman addressed a group of radical students and gave them \$55,000 in cash for food. Earlier the money had been ripped off from a local bank. Before Christmas truck loads of hijacked toys were distributed to poor children in oppressed communities and the free distribution of milk and food to the poor has become commonplace.

Guerilla units of 30 or more men and women have been known to overrun police and military outposts. Small towns in the provinces of Buenos Aires have been overrun by guerillas who ripped off banks and businesses, destroyed telephone communications leaving the local pigs completely demoralized.

Counterrevolutionary vigilante groups, organized by the pig police are on the rise. But this has not dented the spirits of our comrade brothers and sisters in Argentina.

On February 6, about a dozen guerillas armed with machine guns and including at least one doctor stripped the San Lucas Sanatorium of medicine and equipment. The hospital officials said it was enough medicine and equipment to start a righteous underground or above ground clinic. If anything, it looks like the struggle in Argentina is about to become more intensified. And the Black Panther Party says, Right on to that.

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF CHE GUEVARA
LONG LIVE THE ARGENTINIAN LIBERATION
MOVEMENT

DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS
Zayd Malik Shakur
Deputy Minister of Information
Black Panther Party
Central Headquarters
Bronx, New York

University of Puerto Rico

One of the most active forces in the struggle for the liberation of Puerto Rico are the students. On the island of Puerto Rico, which is a colony of the United States, the majority of the people are fighting a heavy battle against the AmeriKKkan occupying forces. The Puerto Rican people have always fought against the oppressor: first against Spain and now against the United States.

Puerto Ricans are forced to join the army because they are supposedly 'citizens' of the U.S. Puerto Ricans were made citizens in

1917 so that they could go and fight in World War I - the U.S. needed more bodies to fight against Germany so they made Puerto Ricans citizens, even though the language of Puerto Ricans is Spanish and the culture is African and Indian.

Students at the University of Puerto Rico have organized against the draft and are fighting to free Puerto Rico, to break the chains that bind the island to the U.S. Last year in a protest against the ROTC (Reserve Officers Training Camp) a sister

named Atonia Martinez was killed by the pigs. Now her death has been avenged and the deaths of all those brothers who have died fighting in the AmeriKKkan army will be avenged. This time - when the mod squad was called onto the campus by the head of the university, to put down students who were dealing with the ROTC members the students dealt with self-defense. The commander of the riot squad Major Juan Mercado, Miguel Rosario, a member of the riot squad and Jacinto Gutierrez a member

of the ROTC were shot and killed. Right On Students of the University of Puerto Rico!

Many people have been brainwashed into believing that Puerto Ricans are docile people that they don't relate to the gun - but this is untrue. The Nationalist Party sent Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, and other brothers and sisters to assassinate AmeriKKkan congressmen and President Truman in order

Con't on Page 17

Con't from Page 16

Cairo Ill... Arrest

March 31-June 1, 1969: 16 Blacks arrested for curfew violations, 3 Blacks arrested for unlawful use of weapons.

May, 1969: Paul Lamberti arrested and charged with intimidation of a high student who pulled a gun on Lamberti.

June, 1969: Five Blacks arrested for illegal use of weapons, etc., all later acquitted by juries.

July: In Springfield, over 100 arrested at State Capitol as United Front attempted to petition Governor to intercede in Cairo. Only 6 have been convicted rest acquitted or had charges dropped.

July-September 1969: Twenty-three Black pickets arrested downtown on various charges.

September 13: Five people arrested on the anti-assembly city ordinance.

September 19: Three Blacks arrested picketing... reckless conduct, assault and intimidation charges.

October 6: Twenty three arrested, violation of state peddlers statute.

January 31, 1970: Two Black students from Malcolm X College, Chicago, arrested near Pyramid Court, all-Black Housing Project.

April 17: Jerry Herrod, Harold Sumlin arrested as Sumlin could not keep up with marchers in parade.

May, 1970: Five Blacks arrested after Black-white melee in and around United Front headquarters which was on fire.

June 18: The Rev. Mankie R. Harris, arrested on two charges of attempted murder, two of unlawful use of weapons.

June 22: The Rev. Charles Koen, charges of aggravated battery brought by Fire Chief Arlie Seawright.

June: Herman Whitfield arrested for "deadly weapon charge" (Bracelet with metal ornaments.) James Wilson criminal destruction of property (a window downtown was broken.) One trial has resulted in a hang-jury, since he has been retired and found guilty.

July 3: One Black arrested for attempted murder after he returned fire when police shot at him.

August 4: United Front photographer arrested on intimidation charges.

August 8: Indictments returned by Grand Jury sees arrest warrants on 15 Blacks from a white instigated incident on this date. No true-bills returned on whites involved. Blacks had signed complaints on these whites, the state's attorney refused to arrest them but brought the complaints to his white-controlled grand jury. Most indictments on Blacks were for aggravated battery.

August 13: Two Blacks arrested on assault and disturbance charges after white car dealer shoots at two Black ladies.

August 15: United Front photographer, Carl Hampton, arrested after being physically accosted by whites.

October 15: Bob Williams and Frank Washington arrested on charges stemming from fight at Black owned business on October 13.

October 21: Three Blacks indicted on charges of attempted murder, aggravated battery and conspiracy to commit murder after a fight at the site of VFW fire on this date.

November 7: A mother and two children arrested at their home after much verbal abuse by whites outside jeering and shouting. Mother is charged with aggravated battery as she swings at policemen pulling on her arm on which surgery had just been done. Two children were charged with disorderly conduct.

December 5: Fifteen Blacks arrested during police riot in downtown Cairo as Blacks attempt to peacefully picket. Charges range from attempted murder to failure to obey a police officer.

January 6, 1971: James Chairs arrested in Springfield at State Capitol on charge on conspiracy to commit murder from Dec. 5 incident.

January 21: Frank Hollis arrested on two charges of purchasing weapons without gun owners identification card. State police have arrest warrants on 6 others on same charge. Later arrested, 3 persons arrested on Aggravated battery charges as State police moved in an illegal

raid with clubs and guns.

Feb. 12: Frank Hollis arrested on absurd charge of stealing a rifle from National Guard Armory in Chicago. James Wilson arrested on a charge of stealing a rifle from a federal marshal in Washington, D.C. He is also charged on a reindictment on 2 counts of aggravated battery and unlawful possession. Also reindicted after a judge had quashed a grand-jury indictment were Herman Whitfield, Frank Washington, and Wallace Whitfield. Deborah Flowers was arrested for unlawful possession of weapon and obstructing a police officer from Jan. 21. State Police have arrest warrants on 4 others who were later arrested.

(In addition several other Blacks have been arrested on petty traffic charges overlooked when committed by whites but vigorously enforced when Blacks are observed. A means of harassment.)

WHITES ARRESTED

Two corner brothers arrested for shooting at police (state and local) on August 18, 1970. Charges dropped to disturbing the peace. Fined \$19.00 each including Court costs.

August 25, 1970: One white arrested after state's attorney assistant sees him pushing a Black in the Court House. Charges were later dismissed.

September 18, 1970: White man from Kentucky shoots into Church and rectory on 14th Street. Blacks perform citizens arrest. Grand Jury apparently refuses to return an indictment.

State police may have information on other white arrested. However, none has been indicted by Grand juries, or brought to trial if arrested.

MORE BLACKS ARRESTED

March 7, 1971: Levi Garrett charged, attempted murder (\$15,000.00 bond); 2 men charged with peace disturbance; 3/7/71 3 charged resisting arrest; 1 stealing a rifle. A total of 258 Blacks arrested. (All of these charges deal directly with racial confrontations. Others could be listed that were due to police harassment.)

to show the world that Puerto Rico must be set free. The Nationalist Party, under the leadership of Albino Campos, started an armed revolution in Puerto Rico in the 50's. Sister Blanca Canales led an armed takeover of the town of Jayuya. The Young Lord's Party, which will open its branch in Puerto Rico on March the 21st, in Ponce, believes that armed self-defense and armed struggle are the ONLY means to liberation.

When the pigs attempted to bust onto the campus the students shouted "This is not Vietnam." They understand that the AmeriKKkan military will attempt to make war on people around the world unless we oppressed deal with driving them out of Puerto Rico, out of Vietnam, out of South America and finally out of Babylon.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

LIBERATE PUERTO RICO NOW

The Tombs 7-Victims of Political Persecution

On January 25, 1971, the pigs of the New York City Correction Commission, headed by Correction Commissioner, McGrath, working in close conjunction with New York Mayor Lindsay and DA Hogan dropped a 72 count indictment on seven brothers incarcerated in the Tombs (Manhattan Men's House of Detention), for their participation in the October 22, 1970 rebellions, protesting the inhumane conditions and brutality perpetrated against the inmates.

Brothers, Curtis Brown, Franklin Myers, Richardo DeLeon, Nathaniel Ragdale, Stanley King, Herbert X. Blyden and Louis Cabrera were delegated by the inmates of the Tombs to represent them on the Inmates Committee formed by the incarcerated brothers.

Some of the Tombs 7 have a knowledge and good understanding of the law and have been applying "each one teach one" amongst their fellow incarcerated brothers. Many of them have been intensifying the struggle within the Tombs and when on the streets, were intensifying the struggle. For these reasons and others the

McGrath-Lindsay-Hogan clique chose to drop this 72 count indictment against them. The following is a break-down of the indictment:

- 50 counts of kidnapping in the first degree
- 14 counts of unlawful imprisonment
- 5 counts of coercion
- 1 count of reckless endangerment
- 1 count of riot in the first degree
- 1 count of interfering with government administration

The indictment was dropped on the seven brothers in particular, because of their active participation and ability to organize and educate the brothers incarcerated in the Tombs.

Brothers and sisters incarcerated in concentration camps throughout Babylon are subjected to all types of brutality, harassment and inhumane conditions. Brothers and sisters in maximum security demand that these disgusting inhumane conditions be rectified now!

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
Faulette Frye
Central Headquarters

Voodoo Tapes

"BLACK PEOPLE IN THEIR 400 YEAR STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIST REPRESSION AND CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION HAVE ALWAYS BEEN FORCED TO DEAL WITH SURVIVAL THROUGH ANY MEANS NECESSARY" ONE OF THE MAIN THINGS THAT HAS INSURED OUR SURVIVAL WAS OUR ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE WITH ONE ANOTHER. EVEN THOUGH OUR OPPRESSOR HAS SYSTEMATICALLY TRIED TO DESTROY THE NECESSARY COMMUNICATIONS THAT WE HAVE WITH ONE ANOTHER BUT THIS THE OPPRESSOR HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO SUCCESSFULLY DESTROY"

IN HAITI WHEN TOUSSAINT L'OVERTURE AND JEAN JACQUE DESSALINES WERE LEADING THE FIGHT OF RESISTANCE AGAINST FRENCH IMPERIALISM THE MEDIUM OF COMMUNICATION THAT THE OPPRESSOR COULD NOT DESTROY WAS THE DRUM WHICH TRAVELED FASTER THAN THE TELEGRAPH USED BY THE OPPRESSOR"

TODAY WE ARE STILL OPPRESSED AND JUST AS THE RACIST OPPRESSORS OF

OLD COULDN'T BLOCK THE COMMUNICATIONS MACHINERY OF BLACK PEOPLE THEY ARE ALSO UNABLE TO BLOCK OUR



(PAPA) ELDRIDGE

COMMUNICATIONS OF TODAY THE VOODOO OF TODAY HAS BEEN COUPLED WITH MODERN TECHNOLOGY AND THE PIGS CAN'T BLOCK THIS EITHER"

THE CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY HAS VOODOO (VIDEO) TAPES AVAILABLE FROM THE INTERNAT'L SECTION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY INCLUDING MESSAGES FROM OUR MINISTER OF INFORMATION ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FIELD MARSHALL DON COX (D.C.) AND COMMUNICATIONS SECRETARY KATHLEEN CLEAVER.

THE VOODOO TAPES CAN BE RENTED FOR \$50.00 AND PURCHASED FOR \$100.00. FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON HOW YOU CAN HAVE THE VOODOO TAPES SHOWN IN YOUR HOME YOUR FAVORITE BAR OR ANY OTHER PLACE WHERE THERE IS A TELEVISION SET CONTACT THE CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AT:

1370 BOSTON ROAD
BRONX NEW YORK 10456
TELE: (212) 328-2828

Con't from Page 6

Free Geronimo

Holiday and George Lloyd at Christmas time; this was while they all were political impossible because he was prisoners in the hands of the fascist pigs of Babylon. This has left them in a position of helplessness regarding support, publicity, and money for their defense. The purge contained mainly lies and half truths. In the purge, Huey P. Newton stated that Geronimo demanded money. This is a half-truth. The leadership of the Panthers had refused to help him in his underground efforts while he and those with him were threatened with survival. This despite the fact that in the August 29, 1970 issue which was printed after his departure, the Black Panther paper stated that "Geronimo is first and foremost a Panther, a revolutionary and a true Black liberation fighter for the freedom of his people" and that "he is gone to intensify the struggle and help to bring it to a higher level." The refusal to support Geronimo made it more difficult for him to elude the pigs and ultimately led to his capture. The article also stated that Geronimo sent money to his relatives

chapter of the Black Panther Party upon the death of Bunchy Carter and John Huggins. His resentment of Geronimo's progression to this position, his apparent fear of his own imprisonment for crimes he was charged with; and finally, his desire for revenge for his earlier expulsion from the party, left him "ripe" for the pigs. In return for immunity, he has agreed to help them try to convict Geronimo of a two year old unsolved murder.

Through this action, the Black Panther Party has left these men captive by the fascist pigs in a state of no support. Immediately after the purge of Geronimo from the Black Panther Party, he was extradited from Texas to California, where he was indicted for another trumped-up crime, murder. That charge was premised on the testimony of an ex-deputy sheriff, pig informant by the name of Julio Baxter, who sought to "take over" the local

chapter of the Black Panther Party upon the death of Bunchy Carter and John Huggins. His resentment of Geronimo's progression to this position, his apparent fear of his own imprisonment for crimes he was charged with; and finally, his desire for revenge for his earlier expulsion from the party, left him "ripe" for the pigs. In return for immunity, he has agreed to help them try to convict Geronimo of a two year old unsolved murder.

The pigs had wanted to get Geronimo for a long time. Now that the Black Panther Party has said that he is a counter-revolutionary and that "Any Party member or community worker who attempts to aid them in any form or manner shall be considered part of their conspiracy to undermine and destroy the Black Panther Party," they have allowed the pigs to vamp on Geronimo. On Friday night, February 18, 1971, fourteen pigs beat Geronimo in the Los Angeles County Jail and threw him back in isolation with no medical attention.

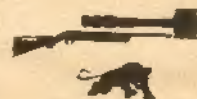
Moreover, despite repeated requests by Geronimo that he be permitted to communicate with Huey P. Newton, David Hilliard and the leadership of the Black Panther Party, since his arrest, this opportunity has been denied him. Not one member has been sent to hear his side of the story.

Geronimo has always believed that in order for a revolutionary party to survive and expand no one individual should place himself in a position of such absolute unquestioned leadership. To do so would be to stunt the constant development of new leadership from the ranks of the party. We feel this is why he was purged from the party at a time when he was a political prisoner in the hands of the fascist pigs of Babylon. He could not accept the contradictions in the actions of the party leadership and its demand for absolute unquestioning adherence to its authority.

Geronimo, a political prisoner and former Deputy Minister of Defense of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party, constantly drilled into the minds of the Black Panthers

at the Los Angeles office the possible adherent results of a cardinal mistake of revolutionaries... "that an army of people accept a leader and become entirely dependent on that one person." The entire time he worked in the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles... he attempted to establish a collective leadership so that each person in the party would have the ability and experience to make decisions based on revolutionary training and principles. Because of Geronimo's ideological and practical position on revolutionary leadership he was purged by Huey P. Newton. Geronimo believes in leadership by example — democratic leadership — as opposed to Huey's apparent belief in the Generalissimo approach. (Huey P. Newton, regrettably, was not the same person when he came out of prison as he was when he went in.)

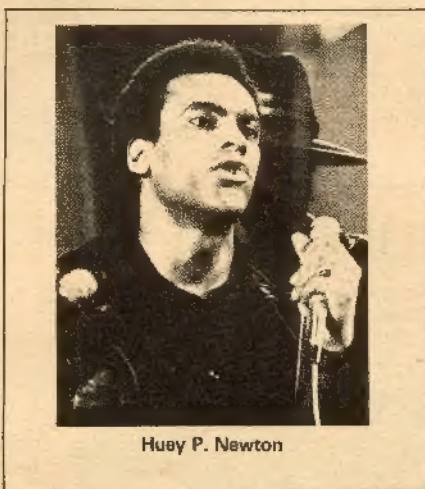
The Committee to Defend Abandoned Panthers



Huey at Princeton, N.J.

On February 9th, 1971 Huey P. Newton spoke before an audience of about 8,000 people in Princeton New Jersey. Although Princeton is one of the richest communities in the United States, the audience was mainly composed of Black students and adults.

The man who organized the engagement is named Bill Wheatley. When Huey Newton finally arrived (hours late) he met with Bill Wheatley to inquire about the money for the engagement. There had been an unconditional honorarium of \$3,500.00 but Bill Wheatley only had \$2,200.00 on hand. Upon hearing this, Huey Newton became outwardly angry and called Wheatley a blue-eyed liar and told Wheatley that he had to confess to being a liar and a crook who had tried to beat the Party before he would be allowed to leave the room. Wheatley tried to explain that certain people had committed themselves to donate certain amounts of money the night of the engagement and that these would bring the total of money the Party would receive well over \$3,500.00. Also present at this meeting was Huey Newton's cut buddy and the Chief Perpetrator of madness in the Black Panther Party, David Hilliard. David Hilliard had spoken in Princeton last year and Wheatley had set that engagement up too. Wheatley asked Hilliard to verify the fact that he had gotten paid after the speaking engagement was over last year, just as he had promised to do with Huey. David just shook his tiny head and brushed his suede maxi coat and said that he knew nothing about what Wheatley was talking about.



Huey P. Newton

It was clear to see that Huey Newton and David Hilliard's first interest was money. Huey said that if Wheatley did not have the money there at that time that he should not speak at all. Bill Wheatley had worked very hard to arrange this engagement and had even put out money from his own bank account to make certain that Black people from the Black community could come and hear Huey Newton speak, by renting buses. It was evident that he was not out to 'beat the Party' or the people.

Huey asked David Hilliard just what should they do about the speaking engagement and

David Hilliard told Wheatley that he will have to write out a check for the amount of money he had on hand and that he would be sued for the rest.

The Jersey City N.C.C.F., which is an organizing arm of the Black Panther Party, has eight children in the office and no electricity or telephone. We were told by David Hilliard that \$1,000.00 of the receipts from Princeton would be given to us in order for us to turn our lights and telephones on again. However, David Hilliard proved to be a demagogue once again. The three round trip tickets from California that were donated and the honorarium totaled over \$5,000.00 and we still are without phones, electricity and heat. The local branch received nothing. No one received anything from the speaking engagement in Princeton except Huey P. Newton and David Hilliard, the rip-off men.

Huey Newton and David Hilliard have moved in the manner of a pig in the name of the people. They will go to any extremes to make sure they can continue to wallow in the people's money, even if it means destroying the most influential Black Political/Military organization on the face of the planet earth.

We will not allow a handful of opportunists to corrupt the principles of our Party. All those who stand in the way of progress and deliberately block political gains of the people will have to be removed!

**ALL BLOCKERS MUST GO!
ACTION IS THE VANGUARD!
Jersey City**

October 1966

Black Panther Party

Platform and Program

What We Want

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

What We Believe

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

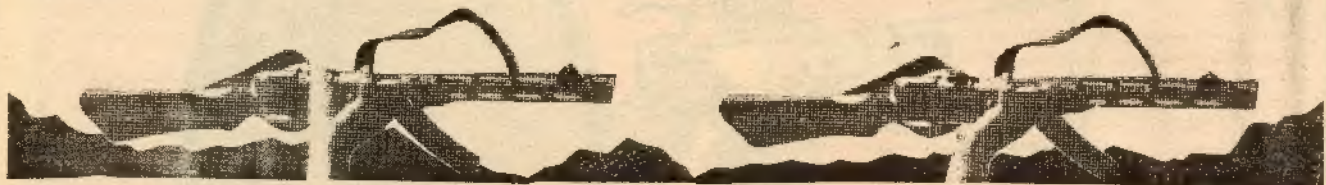
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



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IF I GO FORWARD - FOLLOW ME
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In the spirit of Robert Webb we have no hang ups about revolutionary violence